CHAPTER 13

INFLUENTIAL FACTORS ACROSS POLICY PROCESS STAGES

This chapter provides an overview of the characteristics of influential factors across all policy process stages. As in the previous chapter the discussion is centered around geometric figures for each of the factors on the AD axis. The figures are faithful to the orientation of the cubic matrix which forms the theoretical framework of this study. Conclusions drawn from this chapter appear in Chapter 14.

Some factors are common contextual elements throughout all policy process stages, providing a unifying influence; others are particular to formation or implementation, or to stages within these larger phases. Certain actors are motivated by particular influential factors rather than by others.

The Nature of Influential Factors

The nature of the influential factors became clearer during the research, including how the adoption of the IB program may intentionally or unintentionally affect the environmental factors (plus family welfare) which facilitated IB development. The following discussion attempts to elucidate these matters.

The reader is reminded that ten influential factors are identified in this study. Six are environmental factors - economic, educational, social (comprising demographic, cultural, historical, geographical), political, technological and international diffusion - while the remainder are not: technical analysis, family welfare, ideologies and self-interest. Environmental factors were defined in Chapter 3 as any societal or institutional condition or circumstance external to the actors. They affect whole populations, evolve beyond the control of individuals and are often quantifiable by statistical analysis. Clearly the six environmental factors fit this definition. On the other hand, family welfare, ideologies and self-interest are concerns in the mind of an individual actor (which may, nonetheless, be shared by many actors or a whole population); in this study they do not represent group phenomena and therefore are not environmental factors, some of which can be objectively gauged by scientific enquiry. Nor are they beyond the control of the individual. On the contrary, the individual's perceptions, thoughts and reactions *form* these factors; they are self-induced and are not brought about by a third party. They are personal, not public. Technical analysis is a different category again.

Technical analysis of an educational program contains many scientifically verifiable statements - for example, "the history course deals with the battle of Waterloo from an English point of view with no recourse to French documentation on the event. There is, therefore, evidence of a lack of international perspective." A further example is: "the history examination questions require reflection and analysis rather than regurgitation of facts." Interested actors with the necessary expertise (headmasters, teachers, education officials, university staff) may take the IB program and analyse it from a number of perspectives such as program objectives, content, methodology, assessment techniques or subject profile of the diploma to arrive at their own technical assessment of its academic level, suitability for a particular school population and university entrance potential. Or they may read a technical report on the program prepared by an education expert.

Technical analysis is often used to provide information about environmental factors such as the economic situation of a country or business. Technical analysis of the IB program affects the educational context since it adds to the attractiveness or unattractiveness of the international educational environment of a school. It is a function, rather than a context. In this study it shows which actors performed a technical analysis of the IB program and how this influenced their subsequent action.

Self-interest and ideologies are personally produced concepts although they may be influenced by external pressures such as membership of a political party which dictates one's ideologies to a large extent. They are not environmental factors as are political ideologies which affect whole populations. These are individual concerns.

While family welfare may be a sub-set of the social context, it is much more intimate. Actors influenced by this factor tended to be personally involved as a member of the family being affected. It is again this personal response which distinguishes these four factors from the environmental context. The latter is exterior to the individual whereas these other factors are personal concerns in the mind of the individual. Rather than being external environmental conditions, family welfare, ideologies and self-interest pertain to inner conditions of the individual and technical analysis involves a personal response to fairly objective data.

The Effect of IB Adoption on Influential Factors

Once the IB is executed, it may have an effect on the factors which influenced its adoption through one or more stages of the policy process. This is a concept very much related to systems theory whereby the output, here the execution of the IB program, then feeds back into

the environment whence it was produced. This may or may not alter elements of the original environment and the alteration, if it occurs, may be intentional or unintentional. For example, adopting the IB in a school does not *improve* technology, but the existence of technological advances *facilitates* the adoption of the IB by providing more rapid and sure means of communication across the world. On the other hand, each new school or university that teaches and accepts the IB automatically improves international diffusion which becomes correspondingly more powerful. A school would not adopt the IB to *improve* international diffusion but it may adopt the IB *because of knowledge about it* via this factor.

Once adopted, the IB has a negative effect on the economic context of a school or an education authority because annual registration and examination fees of approximately 12 000 Swiss francs (in 1992) are required. This was not, however, the case when it was first introduced into the International School of Geneva and other schools as a trial; the registration fee came after the London meeting of some IB school heads and Alec Peterson in 1976. On the other hand, in some schools the IB replaced three or four national examinations thus increasing class sizes and intentionally producing more economically viable teacher-student ratios. The introduction of the IB changed the educational context of the school and of an education authority or government (if a state school) - an internationl educational dimension was now intentionally created. There is also an improvement in the cultural context in that a multicultural curriculum perspective is intentionally introduced. The IB program is often implemented in schools with many varied ethnic groups. It brings them together doing the same program so that intercultural understanding takes place and enriches their lives; input from the students comes from varied cultural view points. The educational and cultural factors are obviously inter-related.

The demographic movement of students is intentionally facilitated by the IB program which allows access to universities world wide. The geographical distribution of IB schools is affected when a new school adopts the program. Sometimes this is as a result of deliberate efforts on the part of the IB Office to engender interest in certain countries, thus widening the potential input from different cultures into curriculum development and assessment techniques. For example, IB interest has been evident in the Eastern European block - Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, ex-Yugoslavia and the ex-USSR - and there was a promotional tour of Australia in 1988 which resulted in some eleven new IB schools in that country in the ensuing three years. There may be, then, intention on the part of the IBO to widen the geographical spread, but an individual school would not adopt the IB to intentionally alter or enhance this factor. (This is similar to internationl diffusion).

The historical context includes events discussed in the problem definition stage: the League of Nations (1920), the birth of the International School of Geneva (1924), Meyhoffer's 1925 attempt to launch a *maturité internationale*, world history and geography courses by Maurette and Dupuy, the UN, UNESCO (1945), the CIS (1949) and ISA (1951). The adoption of the IB program did not alter the events comprising this environmental factor which did, of course, play a role in the eventual development of the IB.

The political context consists of two aspects: party politics and interest or power play between individuals. IB adoption may or may not affect the party political context. If a government is against the introduction of a private, "expensive" international diploma which "would be in competition with the national university entrance qualification" then the IB program is unlikely to be accepted into a state school. If, however, a number of private (non-state) schools adopt the IB in a particular country, there may, over time, be a change in attitude by the same government, although this is improbable. It is possible, however, that a non-cooperative government could be persuaded to adopt the IB through the formation stages of the policy process. For example interest group aggregation by parents making a public plea for an international curriculum may result in the item being brought to a cabinet agenda and a final favourable decision if lobbying has produced support from a significant proportion of the population and the government fears an election backlash on the issue. This is, however, *during* the formation phase; it is not a change in political climate as a result of execution of the IB program.

With reference to power struggles, the adoption of the IB may simply reinforce that X has influence over Y because of:
. legitimate hierarchical superiority;
. the reputation and respect that X has earnt; or
. X's financial influence.
It is unlikely to alter the power relationships that exists because these relationships facilitated IB adoption. The influence of elite actors such as Mountbatten, Goormaghtigh and Peterson with ministers and diplomats, is very much part of the political context.

Family welfare is intentionally improved by the introduction of the IB as it facilitates international family mobility and reduces the hardship of breaking up a family unit to ensure an uninterrupted education for the children. The inter-relationship between this factor and demography is obvious. Family welfare is included in Figure 13.1 as part of the environment but the reader is reminded that this is an influential factor in which actors were personally involved.

Ideologies and self-interest are personal factors not related to the environment. The effect of IB program adoption on these factors is,

therefore, not considered although it is likely that actors' ideologies may have been altered as a result of IB adoption which created new interests and therefore reshaped beliefs and values. Likewise the effect of IB adoption on technical analysis is not discussed as it was a function (not a context) performed by actors before a decision was made to accept the program.

Figure 13.1 is a visual summary of the above discussion. It represents in systems model form the effect that execution of the IB program had on the environmental factors which contributed to its development.

Influential Factors and the Conceptual Framework

Figures 13.2 to 13.11 are vertical slices of the conceptual framework providing a visual representation of the influence of environmental and other factors across stages of the policy process and upon actors. In keeping with the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 3, these figures maintain the same geometric perspective and angle of vision; they have, therefore, a mirror image orientation with respect to Figures 12.1 to 12.9 of Chapter 12 representing the involvement of actors across *policy process stages*. The tripartite interdependence of the matrix of Chapter 3 - policy process stages, actors, influential factors - is respected as cubic spaces are filled only when all three characteristics are active. Here, influential factors are the constant.

For each of Figures 13.2 to 13.11 the occurrence of a number of cubic spaces at a particular stage indicates the diversity of actors playing a major role - actors who are influenced by environmental or other factors. This is not an indication that the influential factor was more prevalent at one stage than at another, that is, the relative influence of a factor on different stages is not shown. For example, in Figure 13.6 (economic context) one cubic space appears for the design stage (AB5). This does not mean that the economic context was less important during this stage than during the administration stage (AB6) where four cubic spaces are hatched in. It indicates that, during the design stage, the only actors to be greatly influenced by economic considerations were funding organisations (AC6) while four types of actors were affected by this factor during the administration stage: headmasters (AC1), funding organisations(AC6), education officials (AC7) and non-education professionals (AC9).

Hence, the economic context influenced more categories of actors during the administration stage than during the design stage, but the intensity of the influence for a particular set of actors at any policy process stage is assumed to be similar. The influence of each factor across policy process stages is now discussed.

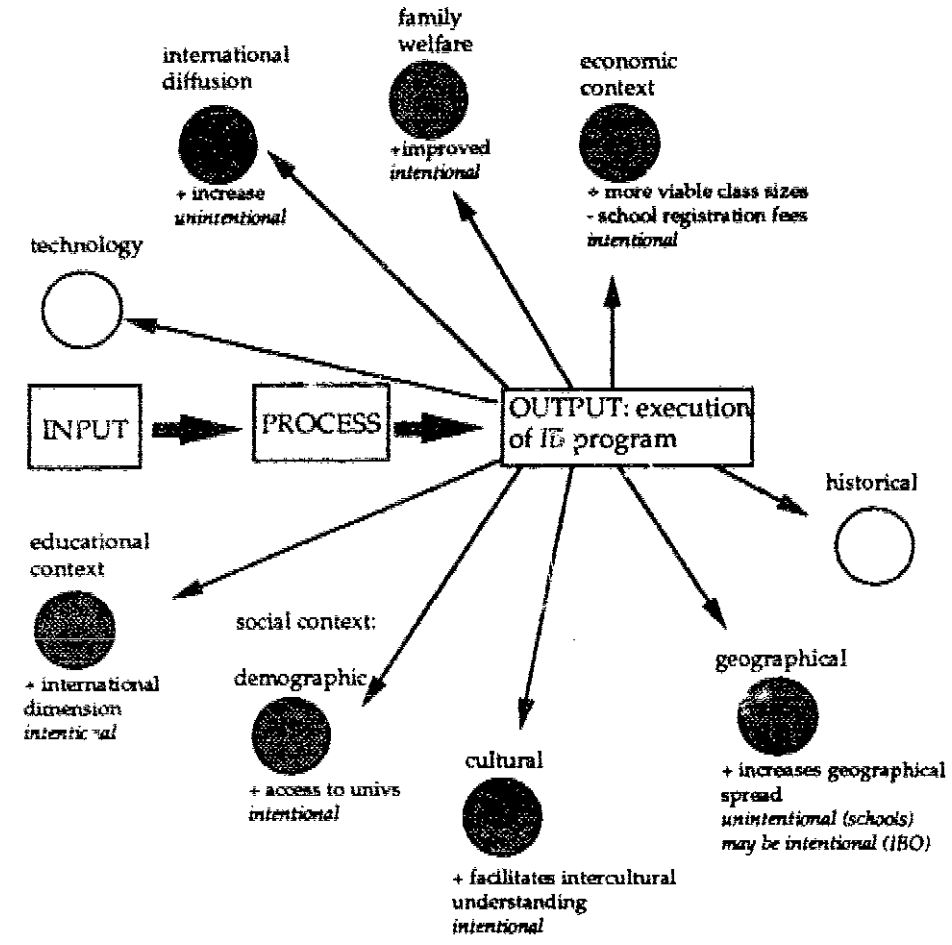

Figure 13.1 A Systems Model Representation of IB Program Impact on Environmental Factors

Technical Analysis

The preceding discussion on the nature of influential factors attempted to explain the place of technical analysis in this study as a function whereby objective data are analysed and have an impact on actors who performed the analysis.

Actors may adopt the IB because they are impressed by its educational value in terms of content, assessment and international objectives; these aspects are best appreciated through technical analysis of the program by those with a background in education: headmasters, teachers, education officials and university staff. The analysis must have already taken place for this factor to come into existence and to have a positive or negative influence on IB acceptance. Technical analysis played no role during the policy formation phase. The final policy decision had no technical specifications concerning the content and academic level of the international diploma - this was to be left to the designers of the program. Hence, technical analysis became a prime consideration during the implementation phase as Figure 13.2 indicates.

Non-education professionals such as politicians are influenced by technical reports from acknowledged experts. This category is not, however, included in Figure 13.2 because these actors did not look at the IB program in detail; they relied on advice from educators whom they respected and they then acted supportively.

At the design stage (AB5) education officials (AC7) working for education ministries around the world examined the first contemporary history course and fourty encouraging responses were received during early 1963. UNESCO education experts also examined the program of the IB in detail and, pleased with its development, continued to award a number of small contracts associated particularly with program design: development of individual subjects, assessment techniques and evaluation with a view to improvement.

During the administration stage (AB6) marketing of the IB to schools depended very much on the reaction of headmasters (AC1) and teachers (AC2) after close scrutiny of the course. That the schools accepted it was not, however, enough; they needed to know that students could enter universities with an IB. The technical analysis factor was of most importance for university staff who had to be assured that the academic level was equal to that of university entrance qualifications such as "A" levels, Advanced Placement, the French baccalaureate, the Maturité Fédérale.

The funding organisations had their own education experts who judged, after technical analysis, that the IB program deserved financial

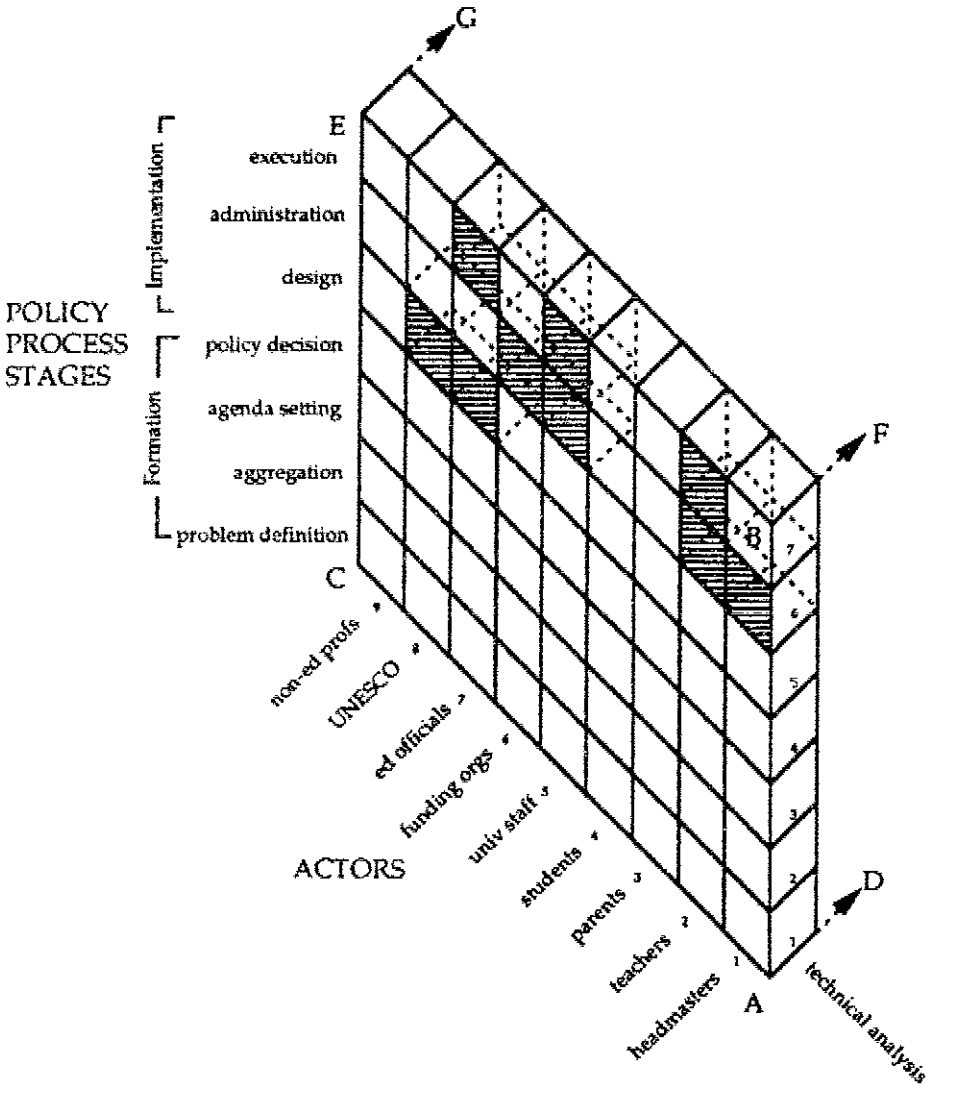

Figure 13.2 The Influence of Technical Analysis on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

backing. These experts are identified in two of the funds: the Twentieth Century Fund had Mayer and the Ford Foundation had Bowles and Tyler who are represented in Figure 13.2 as funding organisation personnel (AC6) and not as education officials (which they also were).

During the execution stage (AB7) teachers were delivering the IB program because they were satisfied with its content, academic level and appropriate assessment techniques. People accepted appointment as IB examiners after technically analysing the content and assessment requirements of particular subjects within the broader context of the aims of the IB program. Technical analysis was, then, a fundamental influential factor for examiners who came from the following categories of actors: teachers, university staff and education officials (usually working for a ministry of education or an examining authority with responsibility for a particular subject area).

Technical analysis is a traditional part of the rational model of decision making and therefore brings a certain scientific objectivity to the policy process. It is a compelling influence for university staff in particular, who must be satisfied that the standard of the IB diploma is sufficiently rigorous before they will accept IB diploma holders. Teachers and headmasters also checked its academic credentials before adopting the IB.

Family Welfare

Keeping the family together by finding schooling abroad which adequately prepares the internationally itinerant child is the most important aspect of family welfare. Questions to be addressed are: cost, curriculum, examinations, language of instruction, location, security, adaptability and university recognition in the home country and abroad.

The family welfare factor concerns only parent actors (AC3) - see Figure 13.3. Family welfare was an integral part of the problem definition stage (AB1) and was linked, of course, to the demographic factor of international mobility. It was also important during the aggregation stage where the ISA was formed as a grouping (AB2) of parents concerned about their children's education and future access to university.

Family welfare did not play a role in agenda setting, unless indirectly and unobtrusively. At the decision stage (AB4) Goormaghtigh, Cook and other parents comprising the vast majority of the ISA executive, were decision makers directly affected by the problem; hence, the family welfare factor had considerable weight as they arrived at their policy decision.

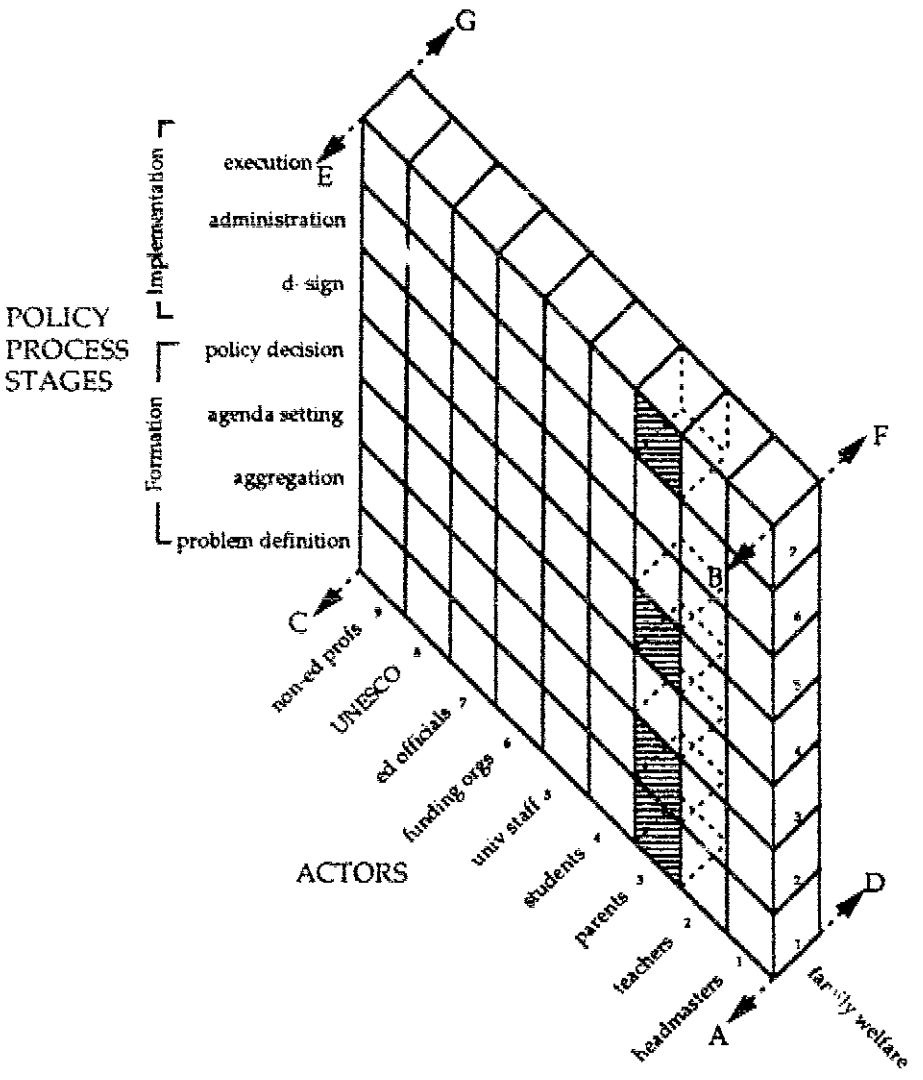

Figure 13.3 The Influence of Family Welfare on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

A threat to family unity provoked parents, as indirect consumers of the IB via their children, to seek out IB schools at the execution (AB7) stage. This spared leaving elder children in the home country to complete pre-university studies while the parents worked abroad. Action, then, was taken because of concern to preserve and attain an acceptable level of family welfare. Because of the personal involvement of actors as members of the family whose welfare was in jeopardy, this factor had considerable emotional and therefore forceful impact.

Ideologies

Ideologies, beliefs and values are assumed to be similar in this study. An ideology is a vision founded on beliefs or values. Collective ideologies which pertain to a whole population or large group form part of the cultural (social) and political environmental factors. "Ideologies" as a separate influential factor in this study connotes the *personal* beliefs of actors which direct behaviour throughout the policy process; these beliefs may be shaped by the local or international environment and they may be at odds with the collective ideology (of a government for example).

The prevailing ideology of actors associated with the development of the IB had three derivations. One was active service in or experience of the Second World War. Kurt Hahn (headmaster) escaped Germany after he publicly refused to allow his school in Salem to bow to the doctrines of Nazism. He founded Gordonstoun in Scotland on principles of international tolerance and cooperation, respect for all ethnic groups, and a firm belief in adventure pursuits as a means of building trust between people as well as contributing to physical development. Mountbatten, Rear-Admiral Hoare, Sir Laurance Darvall (non-education professionals), Peterson (headmaster, university staff, education official), Cole-Baker (headmaster), Goormaghtigh (parent, non-education professional) and Gérard Renaud (teacher, education official) were elite actors who had all actively served during the Second World War and were convinced of the futility of the human losses that occurred because of suspicion, intolerance and the quest to vanquish those not sharing the same beliefs. They, along with countless others, were committed to avoiding a Third World War and saw the IB and the UWCs as tangible steps in that direction. Madame Maurette (headmistress) and her staff had experienced the uprooting of her school at the outbreak of the Second World War when Oats fled with the children to the relative safety of south-west France, near the Spanish border (Oats 1986: 63-66). She was an avowed reformer for world peace and was motivated by this ideal to construct the world history course and her father, Professor Dupuy, the world geography course at the International School of Geneva.

A second ideological derivation is the employer for whom some actors

worked. The majority of parent actors such as Pickard and Cook were employed by the UN or its agencies whose mission was to work towards world-wide cooperation. Goormaghtigh, an international lawyer by training, was director of an organisation whose very title disclosed the values on which it was founded: the European Office of the Carnegie Endowment for World Peace. The actors' personal visions were, then, shaped by the collective ideology of the organisations for whom they worked. It is also important to note that their beliefs were almost certainly already in tune with those of their employers before accepting posts in that ideological context. Once employed, their values would be refined and honed by the organisation.

A third origin of beliefs is religious commitment. An unknown number of teachers and administrators at the International School of Geneva had an ideology based on Quakerism. Leach was a Quaker and the Australian, Oats (a Quaker and headmaster of the Friends School, Hobart, Tasmania for many years), went to the Geneva school through contact with several Quaker teachers who were there in 1939 and later in 1950. A fundamental tenet of Quakerism is to strive for world peace; this explains why a number of Quakers are attracted to international schools. The Quaker movement itself has a few such schools in several countries. Leach and Hatinguais (the French Inspectress) are two key actors who were known to have been propelled into working for the development of the IB partly by their Quaker convictions.

Beliefs guide policy actions which create new interests. These interests, in turn, may alter the ideology of actors. Horowitz (1989: 227) identifies four general sources of ideologies:
1 formative events such as a new ruling political party or ethnic group;
2 respect for "lessons of experience";
3 commitments not easily broken with impunity; and
4 collective aspirations and concerns which create patterns of relations.

When ideologies stem from war experience, the general source type is number two above; the human and material devastation serves as a lesson - it anchors beliefs in the minds of individuals who have lived through the experience. Number four is also a possible subsidiary source of beliefs since aggregations of like-minded people occurred. Ideology shaped by the employing organisation finds its main inspiration in Horowitz's fourth category - collective concerns and aspirations - as the individuals were grouped together by virtue of their employment. Religious ideology finds its main source in the third category. Quakers pledge a commitment to promote world peace (amongst other things), a commitment which must be upheld to maintain faith with Quakerism.

This research has not shown that personal beliefs are as fickle and inconsistent as Horowitz (1989: 278) states. National ideologies are more

eclectic and fluid as governments change, but the actors in this study stoically maintained their ideological path throughout the IB policy process, sometimes in the face of government opposition. When the sources of the vision are profoundly personal - religion and war experience - the duration of the ideology is likely to be life-long. Since the League of Nations and the UN were founded to prevent future world wars, these international organisations possessed an ideology which had a strong, emotive attraction for its employees.

Figure 13.4 shows that headmasters (AC1), parents (AC3) and non-education professionals (AC9) were influenced to act in more than one stage of the policy process by their ideologies. This factor is equally present during the formation and implementation phases. During the problem definition stage (AB1) headmasters such as Cole-Baker and Hahn (the founding inspiration for Atlantic College) shared a vision concerning a peaceful, cooperative world as did Goormaghtigh. The non-education professionals linked to Atlantic Colege - Darvall, Hoare (who became the headmaster but had a military and diplomatic background) and Besse - supported Hahn's idealism and concern for world cooperation. They were influential figures who invested their time and energies (and money in the case of Besse) towards the achievement of this ideology.

During the aggregation stage (AB2) the 1950 Course for Teachers Interested in International Education and the 1962 Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools, both held at the International School of Geneva, are the key instances of teachers (AC2) joined together by a shared ideology. In 1950 teachers wanted to enhance international cooperation through curriculum development over the whole range of subjects. In 1962 teachers were again brought together to work towards reducing world conflict by introducing an international perspective into the teaching of the social sciences. The ISA was created by parents and brought them together (later with more participation from headmasters), motivated by a shared vision concerning the need to inculcate attitudes of international tolerance in our youth. These aggregations of parents and teachers, propelled by their ideologies (although ideology was not the only influential factor during the aggregation stage), were very important in drawing the IB idea to the attention of the decision makers (agenda setting AB3) who comprised some of the parents of the ISA aggregation. Cole-Baker was the headmaster who was so disillusioned by the Second World War that he wanted to return to teaching and put his faith in the young to work towards a mutually respectful, peaceful world. He was an important actor who brought the IB idea to his board members, a number of whom also held key positions in the decision making body of ISA.

Goormaghtigh, Cook and other ISA parents (AC3), together with Cole-

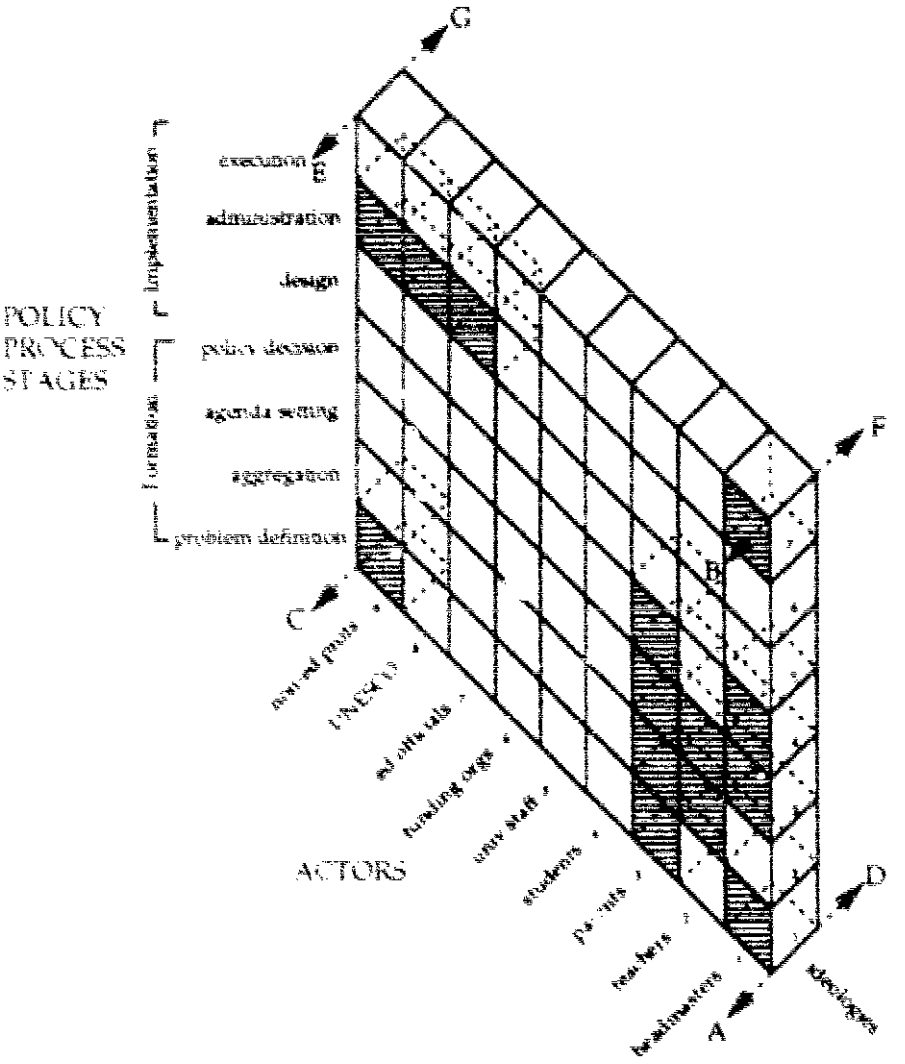

Figure 13.4 The Influence of Ideologies on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

Baker and Roquette (headmasters AC1), were responding, amongst other things, to ideological concerns when they took the decision (AB4) to ask the International School of Geneva to proceed with the contemporary history program and to investigate the extension of this to other subjects.

The design stage (AB5) is the most technical part of the policy process. It concerns program development and plans about what would be needed to execute the program. Factors other than personal ideologies influenced the work at this stage.

During the administration stage (AB6), the promotion of the IB was undertaken by IBO education officials (AD7) such as Peterson, Renaud and Bonner and by non-education professionals (AC9) such as Mountbatten and Goormaghtigh (formerly classified as a parent actor), all convinced of the contribution the program would make towards world peace. This same vision motivated the IBO staff and Goormaghtigh to attack other administrative tasks such as marketing, provision of human and material resources, program delivery and funding.

UNESCO (AC8) took a decision during the administration stage not to include the IB Office as one of its affiliate organisations with on-going financial and educational assistance. Ideologically UNESCO was working towards international peace and cooperation with particular emphasis on developing countries - this was the reason for its existence - but it sought to achieve this goal via national education initiatives and exchanges of information and people and not by supporting an international university-entrance diploma for financially secure students from the developed world.

During the execution stage (AB7) some headmasters (AC1) were influenced by their desire to unite mankind and avoid misunderstandings and intolerance when they adopted the IB in their schools. Two notable examples are Sa'd at the National College, Choueifat, Beirut and Irvine at Iranzamin International School, Teheran.

An actor may be propelled into action *because of* his or her existing beliefs; such action then *contributes* to the realisation of those beliefs. Lord Mountbatten, for instance, wished to avoid World War Three - his actions to gain acceptance of the IB and the UWC concept were all calculated to move closer and closer to the attainment of his ideology through inculcating attitudes of world citizenship in young people at school.

Self-Interest

Self-interest is usually considered an undesirable, egotistical characteristic; on the other hand, it can be a natural, often positive and legitimate reason for action. Actors who are prepared to behave in ways that clearly sacrifice the larger good for personal self-advancement or comfort are displaying the negative aspect. This type of self-interest is rarely, if ever, admitted by incumbents themselves and is therefore difficult to ascertain. Observed behaviour and changes of status of an actor prior to and after critical events is one way of monitoring action driven by self-interest.

Figure 13.5 indicates that the self-interest factor was discernible only during the administration (AB6) and execution (AB7) stages and then only by students (AC4) and university staff (AC5). Compliance with policy decisions depends on legislation, punitive enforcement by law or self-interest, according to Anderson (1984: 94). The IB students are a voluntary constituency since, wherever the parents might be placed in the world, a student can always do the IB in a boarding school if a local school does not offer it, sacrificing family cohesion, or can choose not to do it. Hence those who take the program do so in the knowledge that it will serve their interests by opening many educational opportunities on a global scale. This is a perfectly legitimate influence of self-interest.

One of the influences on the acceptance of the IB by university admissions officers was that it made their task easier, which was obviously to their advantage. (It also provided for more equitable treatment of students applying for university admission from different countries; adoption of the IB led to an improvement of the educational context for university acceptance).

This factor is difficult to gauge because most actors would be reticent to divulge such a personal, albeit perfectly admissible, influential factor. It may also well be that self-interest really played little or no part in propelling other actors associated with the IB into action. Consider Leach, for example. He was a major instigator for international curriculum development, particularly in history. Without his impetus the IB may never have come to fruition. There is some evidence to show that he was not motivated by self-interest. Firstly his Quaker faith, to which he has been very committed throughout his life (Leach interview 1991), forbids egotistical consideration of the self before others. Quakerism is founded on precepts of tolerance towards all races and religions, and above all on the promotion of peace and equanimity. There is much giving of the self to others through humanitarian service and charity. Secondly, observation of his status both before and after the launching of the IB during the 1960s quite objectively shows that Leach, after his ISA one year consultancy, returned happily to the classroom and his post as head of history at the International School of

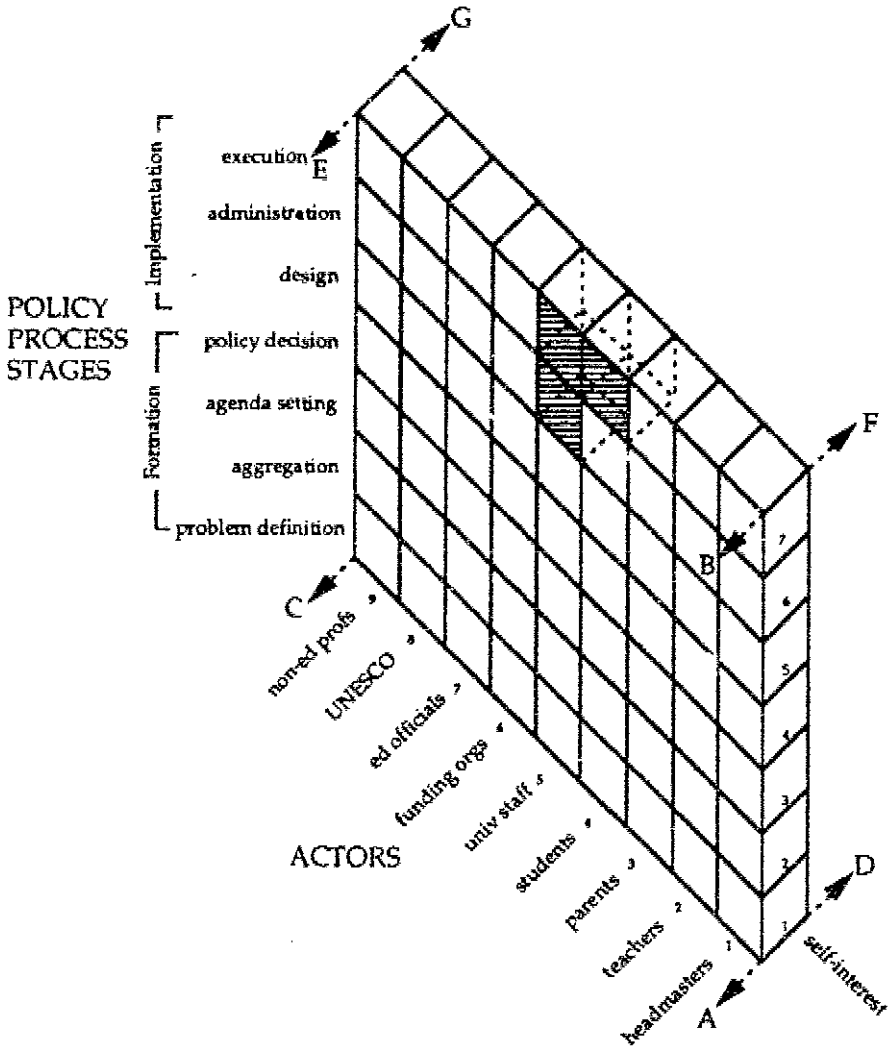

Figure 13.5 The Influence of Self-Interest on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

Geneva where he remained until his retirement.

Leach offers further evidence to support his unselfish involvement when he talks about his first tentative approaches to the Ford Foundation.

> It is absolutely correct that the Ford Foundation wanted a man of the stature of Peterson in order to start to invest money. I was "only" a teacher. And curiously I was a teacher who had the vocation to continue to teach. I know Russell Cook, head of the ISA, was amazed that after a year's consultancy, I went back to teaching (Leach correspondence 1991).

This does not mean that, had he moved on to become, say, director-general of the IBO, as did Renaud, that his actions at the time, or those of Renaud, constituted pre-meditated behaviour with the intention of improving their status in life. Objective observation of this type can only lead to speculation that the possibility of acting out of self-interest is or is not manifest in the events surrounding certain actor behaviour. Equally an actor may be influenced by self-interest and yet not succeed in achieving higher recognition or status although such attainment was at the root of his or her involvement. All of this serves to emphasise the difficulty of discerning this elusive influential factor.

As many of the elite actors were already in such highly responsible positions, it is difficult to imagine how their involvement in the IB could have been beneficial to them personally. On the contrary, it sometimes involved them in many hours of work which they gave voluntarily over and above their paid occupations. For example, Goormaghtigh notes that the American executives of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of which he was director for Europe, never objected to the fact "that one of their far-flung staff members in Geneva should spend his evenings and his weekends on the IBO" (Goormaghtigh 1989: 2). When asked why he had become involved Goormaghtigh replied: "I could see that the IB was necessary and I enjoy a challenge" (Goormaghtigh interview 1991).

Similarly people like Cole-Baker, Renaud, Peterson and Bonner all gave freely of their time initially until the latter three became employees of IBO and Cole-Baker became full-time executive director of ISA from 1968 to 1971. Lord Mountbatten had already reached the pinnacle of his outstandingly distinguished career; his promotion of the IB and UWCs could hardly have brought him any status or reputation that he did not already possess. Georges-Henri Martin was a very successful editor of one of the most important European newspapers and a Trustee of the Twentieth Century Fund when he became involved. Blouke Carus was chairman of Open Court Publishing House and a trustee of the Hegeler Institute. Shirley Williams, Secretary of State for Education in the UK, the minister for education, Van Kemenade, and his director-general, Piet Gathier, in the Netherlands were further examples of people in

highly placed positions of responsibility whose reputations and status were unlikely to be enhanced by assisting the IB. It is doubtful that these and other actors were therefore motivated by self-interest as defined in this study.

It is therefore quite conceivable, and the lack of evidence to the contrary does not belie this idea, that the majority of actors caught up in the IB were not motivated by self-interest but by a common bond to foster responsible social, national and international leadership through IB development around the globe. The ideologies seem to have far outstripped concerns about self-interest.

Economic Context

This is the first of the six environmental factors on the AD axis. A distinction between the development of the IB and its adoption by schools needs to be made. During the problem definition (AB1) and agenda setting (AB3) stages, the financial crisis at the International School of Geneva was an existing factor which influenced the actions of Cole-Baker (AC1) and Goormaghtigh (AC2) as represented in Figure 13.6. IB adoption by the school would alleviate this problem and similar problems of unviable groupings by nationality in other international schools.

At policy decision time (AB4) Cole-Baker and Roquette (AC1) and parents Goormaghtigh, Cook and others (AC3) were partly influenced by the prevailing economic conditions within the International School of Geneva. It is not possible to gauge whether this factor was more influential than others; however, it is certain that a school with a large financial deficit will give a priority to ways of alleviating the situation. No actors other than the headmasters and parents of the Geneva school were directly influenced by economic considerations during the formation phase. While the concerns were initially at the International School of Geneva, the same problem was arising in other international schools where the teaching of three or four national curricula to small national groups was to place financial strain on the institutions.

During the design and administration stages funding had to be found to move the project forward. IB implementation incurred expenses for the designers and the deliverers such as curriculum development meetings, creating the infrastructure of ISES then IBO, employment of personnel, printing documents, marketing, establishing examination procedures Funding came from the Twentieth Century Fund and the Ford Foundation (AC6) who injected large grants into the project to assist initially with program design. Numerous small UNESCO (AC8) contracts were of great assistance to the design of curricula and assessment techniques. The economic context of IB development was strengthened considerably by these funding organisations.

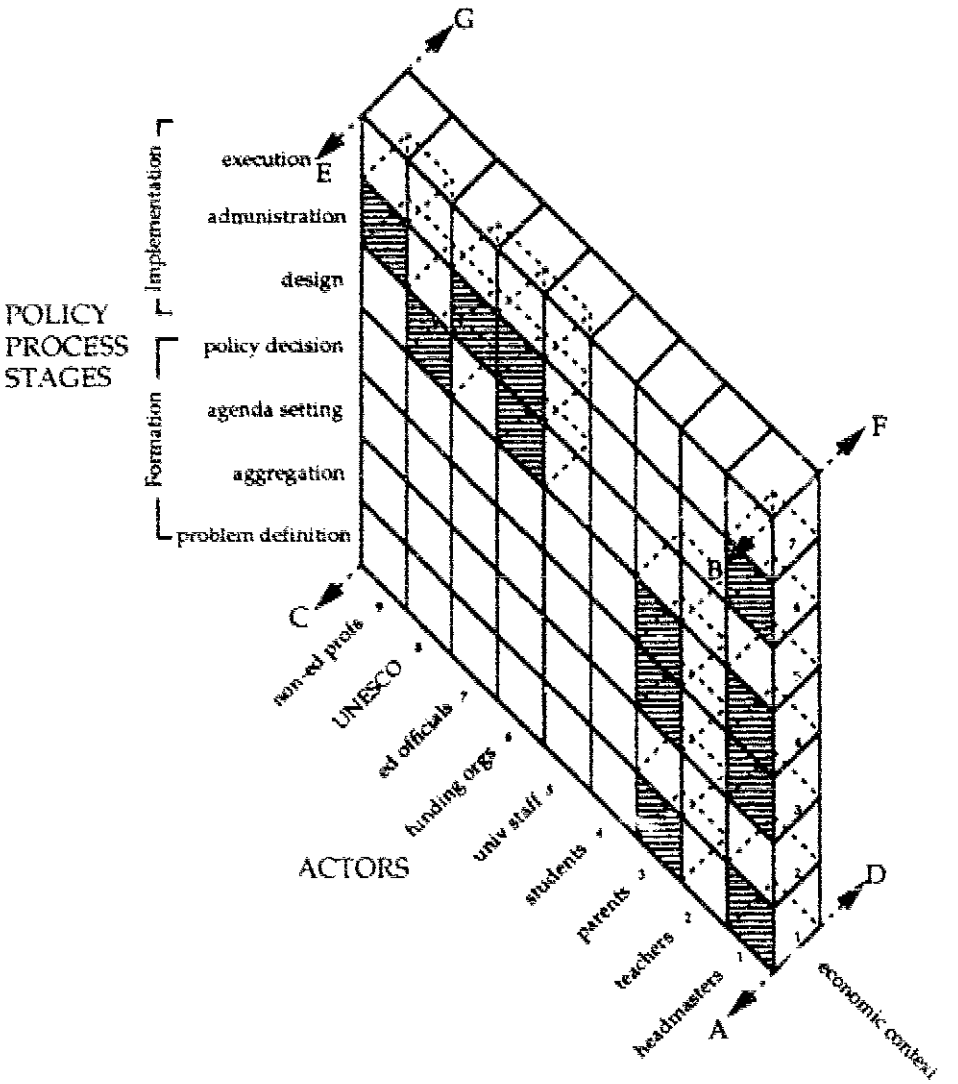

Figure 13.6 The Influence of the Economic Context on Actors Across Policy Stages

During the administration stage the economic context influenced the greatest diversity of actors. Headmasters (AC1) of IB schools were united by the founding of the Standing Conference of Headmasters (of IB schools) - the HSC - in 1977 when Lejeune of the International School of Geneva convened the meeting. This was a follow-up of the emergency meeting called by Peterson the previous year to discuss the grave financial situation of the IBO. The HSC was founded partly for economic reasons: to agree on an annual payment by each school to the IBO. This then developed to provide almost all of the IBO's income today. When schools payed a registration fee from 1977, the acceptance of the IB by a school *depended* on the existing school budget and on the economic climate of the school community. In developing countries this was (and still is) a deterrent. Once accepted, the school budget had to be modified to take account of IB costs.

The Twentieth Century Fund, Ford Foundation and other funding organisations continued to provide money for administrative purposes (AB6): marketing, program delivery, the functioning of ISES and IBO, providing human and material resources, and searching for future funds. (UNESCO grants were principally for small projects concerned with program design, not administration).

A number of education officials (AC7) became involved with the IB for economic reasons. Mayer was the educational consultant for the Twentieth Century Fund who wrote a book about the IB project; Bowles and Tyler were educational consultants for the Ford Foundation. All three became part of the IB project team during the years of funding of those organisations. Their presence was directly related to the grants - an economic factor. Another education official to play an important role, initially for economic reasons, was Piet Gathier, director-general of education in the Netherlands, who persuaded his minister for education, Van Kemenade, to call the first inter-governmental conference in 1976. At that time the IB needed money as the Twentieth Century Fund and the Ford Foundation grants had expired. The idea of government contributions to IBO was discussed and in 1978 Goormaghtigh (non-education professional - AC9 - as president of the IB Council of Foundation) moved a motion to create the Standing Conference of Governments (SCG). Membership required an annual contribution at the time of some US$15 000 to IBO. Since 1988 this condition has been made optional; member governments may now contribute to the promotion of the IB in ways other than financial.

The IB project moved through the following economic phases:

- grants from the Twentieth Century Fund, Ford Foundation, UNESCO and other benevolent foundations during the period of development and experimentation up to 1976;
- funding from annual school registration and examination fees at the instigation of headmasters from 1977 and annual government grants

from 1978; and
. funding from school registration and examination fees only from approximately 1988 as government contributions began to wane and the number of schools increased to such an extent that their financial contributions were sufficient to run the IBO.

Educational Context

Not surprisingly the educational context influenced every stage of the policy process and touched all categories of actors. There is some overlap with the demographic and cultural elements of the social context factor. World-wide dispersion of families is a demographic factor, but the problem it created was educational: difficulty of access to universities with foreign qualifications ` the need for a curriculum appropriate to students with an interna l experience. In this study, gaining entrance to universities is treated as a demographic factor. The provision of an international curriculum perspective is considered to be an educational factor which is also related closely to the cultural context: it is the amassing of numerous cultural perspectives that internationalises the curriculum. The cultural or educational context is attributed to actors according to which of these f ctors most influenced their involvement. Technical analysis of the IB program is treated as a separate function in this study although it involves educational considerations such as subject content, methods of assessment and academic rigour. In a different setting the technical analysis factor may have nothing to do with education.

The following elements comprise the educational context in this study:
. existing educational programs on a national and international level;
. government or individual school support for educational initiatives;
. international coordination of curricula and assessment;
. international curriculum perspective;
. government and non-government schools;
. subject content, standards, methodology, assessment procedures; and
. results of educational research.

The educational context may be an existing factor and one that can be changed by adopting the IB. The educational climate may be open to new ideas concerning curricula, assessment and international education or it may be politically constrained by a national program, strictly tied to the traditions of a country or to a newly imposed culture as when a military government takes over and accepts only one line of thought, suppressing all others by force. Obviously the IB world history program, giving contrasting national perspectives, would be unacceptable in the latter educational setting.

Figure 13.7 shows that during the problem definition stage (AB1) headmasters (A C1) Meyhoffer, Boeke and Theis sought to have

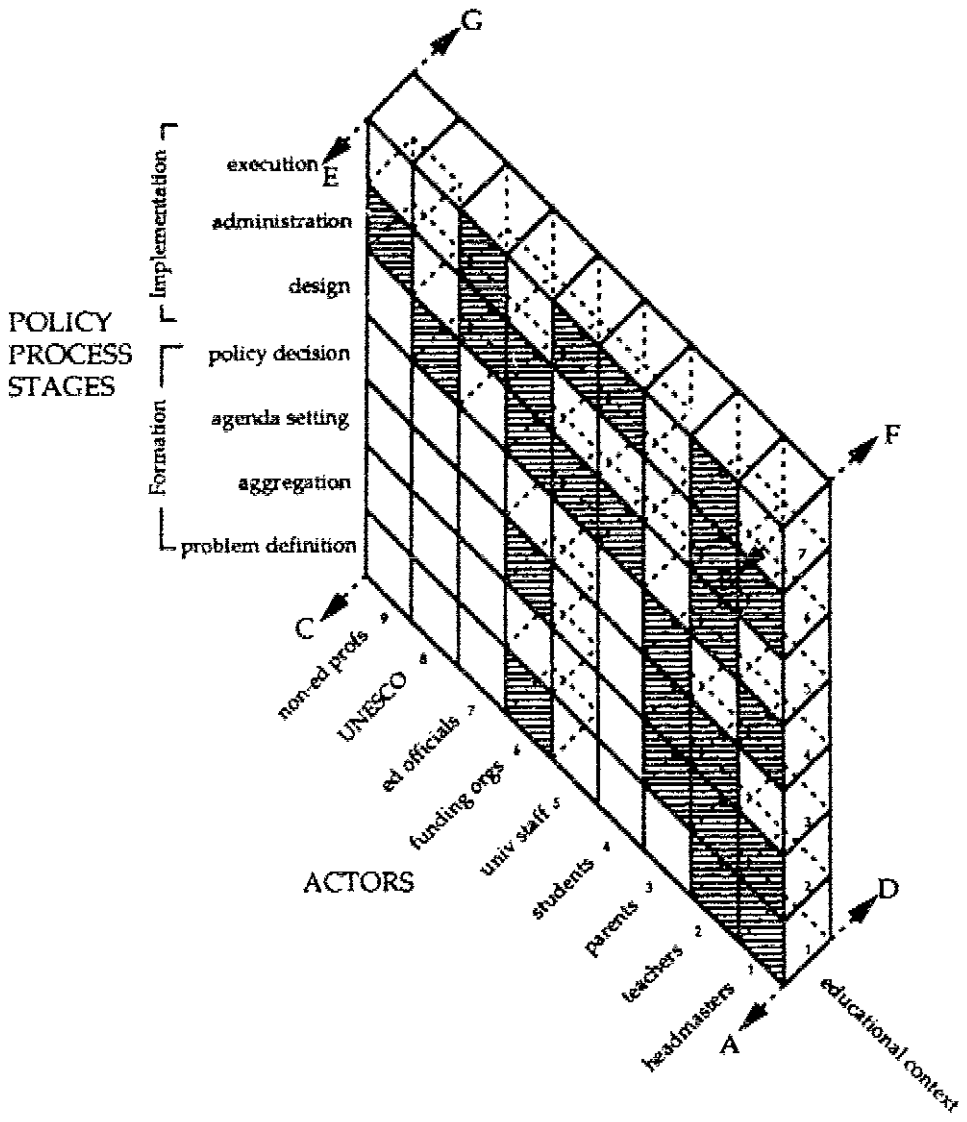

Figure 13.7 The Influence of the Educational Context on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

international coordination of curricula. Maurette (and Dupuy) developed history and geography courses with an international perspective more appropriate to the "global nomads" in the school. Hahn was also concerned about providing an international curriculum and experience for the mind and the body. The 1950 Course for Teachers Interested in International Education (AC2) recommended the development of history courses from a world-wide perspective, but not a common program. In 1962 the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools recommended coordination of national curricula and a final international examination in the social sciences. These recommendations from these groups also apply at the aggregation stage (AB2). The Ford Foundation (AC6) provided funding in 1955 to UNIS for research into international curriculum development, initially in the primary and middle schools; this was important in the educational context of the problem definition stage as an attempt to provide an appropriate educational program to an international clientele. The Ford Foundation was also hopeful that the results of the project would be transferable to national schools in the USA.

The aggregation of teachers in 1950 also proposed training programs in curriculum content and methodology for teachers in international schools. This was a follow-up to the inaugural meeting of headmasters (AC1) of internationally-minded schools in 1949 where concern was expressed that teachers needed to be specially trained to work in international schools where language, culture and the global experience of the students were different.

The ISA aggregation, comprising predominantly parents (AC3), was founded in 1951 to improve education in international schools: to make it more appropriate to the internationally mobile student while at the same time preserving enough of individual national standards to make re-entry into any number of countries as smooth as possible and attractive to university authorities.

Agenda setting (AB3) for the ISA decision makers was heavily influenced by the educational concerns expressed by the aggregations of teachers and parents already mentioned. The Ford Foundation funding to UNIS was helpful in raising the need for an international curriculum and examinations for the final two years of secondary education.

The decision makers were essentially parents, especially Goormaghtigh and Cook, and the two headmasters of the International School of Geneva, Cole-Baker and Roquette, who were influenced by the need for an appropriate international curriculum and global university entrance qualification.

During the design stage, teachers (AC2) at the International School of Geneva prepared a "Draft Proposal for an IB" which addressed subject content, assessment and the profile of the diploma. Students (AC4) gave important feedback through the Consultative Committee which met during some of the trial examination period; this enabled adjustments to the curricula, the teaching methodology and the examinations to be made. Siotis and Peterson (university staff AC5) were involved in curriculum design and inspired a number of ideas; in particular, Peterson was responsible for developing the Theory of Knowledge course and CAS (Creativity, Action and Service).

The Twentieth Century Fund, the Ford Foundation (AC6) and UNESCO (AC8) had a positive impact on the economic context of IB development but their willingness to participate was the result of technical analysis of the IB program from an educational perspective. Hence they became involved for educational reasons concerned particularly with program design (AB5).

The acceptance of the IB by schools and governments during the administration stage was facilitated by an educational context in which the European Baccalaureate already successfully existed to overcome the problem of student mobility and access to universities across Europe. Headmasters (AC1) and education officials(AC7) in ministries of education were particularly influenced by this. Teachers (AC2), benevolent foundations (AC6) and non-educational professionals (AC9) - such as Carus and Hagoort in the USA - were interested in improving international and national education. Education officials (AC7) of the IBO and its Oxford Research Unit were involved at this stage for educational reasons.

Furthermore as the Oxford Research Unit provided the results of its follow-up research on students who were accepted at universities, this contributed to an educational context in which the IB held a respectable place. At the execution stage, as more IB graduates entered universities and more schools taught the IB, the educational context for the international student became more and more supportive - adoption of the IB had a positive change on the educational context as Figure 13.7 shows (AB7, AC4).

Teachers (AC2) deliver the program during the final stage, influenced by the educational value of the IB. Teachers, university staff (AC5) and education officials (AC7) also became involved at the execution stage as examiners; they were attracted by the educational content and examination techniques of the IB.

Social Context

The social context includes demography, culture, history and geography.

International mobility was the existing demographic factor which most influenced the creation of the IB and its adoption by schools. The IB facilitates international displacement of students by providing a common program which assures university recognition world-wide. This demographic factor gave rise to a pressing educational problem; hence there is a solid link between the two, given the subject matter of this research.

The pattern of influence of the social context on actors as shown in Figure 13.8 indicates that university staff (AC5), funding organisations (AC6) and education officials (AC7) were not significantly affected by this factor at any stage of the policy process. Headmasters (AC1), teachers (AC2) and UNESCO (AC8), in that order, were influenced across the largest number of stages. Figure 13.8 does not show the influence of each component of the social context. The following discussion addresses the influence of demography, culture, history and geography in turn.

Demography

At the problem definition stage (AB1), Meyhoffer (headmaster AC1) proposed the *maturité internationale* in 1925 as a response to children moving around the globe when their parents were appointed to different countries for their work, particularly with the League of Nations. In the late 1940s, Boeke and Theis (headmasters AC1) proposed to *create* demographic shifts through an ambitious student exchange program amongst international school centres across the world. They spoke of the need for common courses and a common end-of-secondary school qualification. By 1950 the first European Baccalaureate examinations took place. Van Houtte, a lawyer (non-education professional AC9), was largely responsible for this common university entrance examination which eased educational problems associated with family mobility amongst countries of the European Community. At the time of the decision (stage AB4) by the ISA executive in 1962 to move cautiously towards a common examination, Goormaghtigh, Cook (parents AC3) and Cole-Baker, Roquette (headmasters AC1) were conscious of the educational difficulties associated with international mobility.

Demographic concerns, after providing the major impetus during the problem definition stage, recede to an insignificant role during aggregation (AB2) and agenda setting (AB3) where cultural (and educational) concerns are more prevalent as teachers, headmasters and UNESCO take up the cause of international understanding and an international cultural perspective in subject programs.

During the decision stage, teachers (AC2) at both the International School of Geneva and Atlantic College were partly and significantly

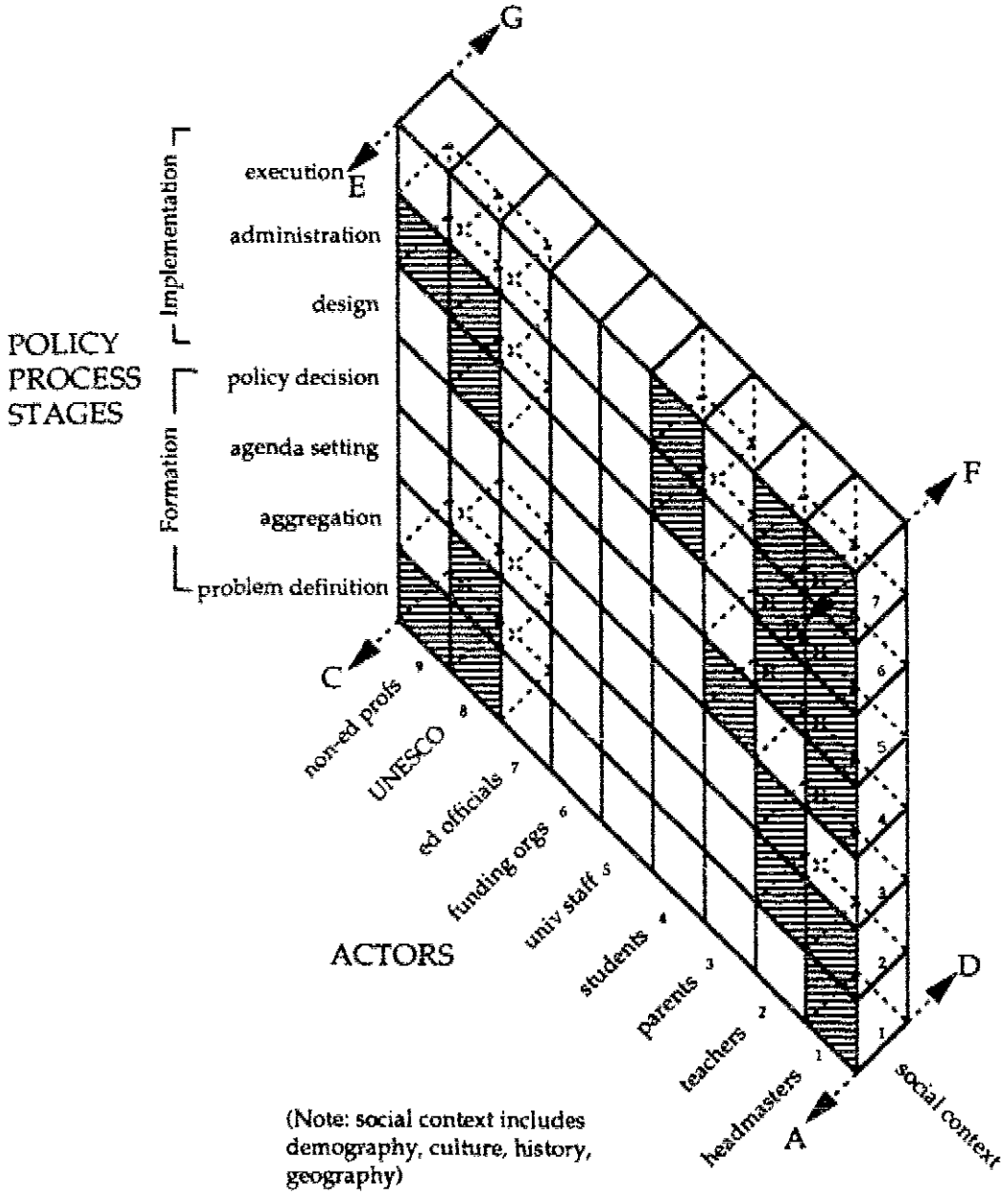

Figure 13.8 The Influence of the Social Context on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

influenced by the need for a common university entrance program and examinations to assist the international displacement of students. This demographic aspect reappeared amongst the educational zeal which spurred on the initial curriculum development during the 1960s for which Cole-Baker (headmaster AC1) was a driving force, partly for demographic reasons.

University access for internationally mobile students continued to motivate teachers (AC2) and headmasters (AC1) during the administration stage (AB6). Other actors were similarly influenced. Students (AC4), as consumers of the IB, responded formally via the Consultative Committee from 1969-1972 and later through the studies of the Oxford Research Unit concerning university success of IB diploma graduates; their responses assisted the marketing and delivery (administration) aspects of the IB. Hampton, director of CERN (non-educational professional AC9) was attracted to the IB for reasons of mobility: he saw it as an important factor in procuring the best researchers from around the world and offered to have the IB validated by member countries of CERN. Two other non-education professionals (AC9) - Hagoort, international lawyer, and Carus, publisher - saw the advantages of the IB for internationally mobile students (as well as its potential for lifting the educational level in the USA).

During the execution stage (AB7) many teachers delivered the IB program and many headmasters adopted it because it fulfilled an educational need necessitated by student mobility. Students (AC4) also saw that the doors of many universities world-wide were open to them, independently of the country in which they successfully completed an IB diploma.

Culture

The cultural context may include issues relating to racial or ethnic composition, class system or myths and beliefs which direct action. In relation to IB development the cultural factor is at the very root of the objectives of the IB program:

- mutual awareness and acceptance of other ways of thinking and behaving and therefore the elimination of xenophobia;
- appreciation of different religious beliefs and their role in shaping cultural differences; and
- an awareness that official histories, mathematical and scientific theorems, philosophical knowledge, economic analysis, teaching methodology and pedagogical expectations of students are all culture-bound and therefore change, in varying degrees, from one country to another.

While students in national schools should also be sensitive to these cultural differences, teaching in an international school, from any one

national school perspective, goes against the grain of experience of its student population and hence is totally inappropriate in that setting.

The IB may be adopted because it is seen as a remedy to a context of prevailing turbulence between some cultures - a context which it seeks to change, initially within the school community and then, little by little, more widely as the school's ambassadors (ex-students) spread out in to the world. At the heart of this cultural factor is a small but meaningful contribution to world peace by preparing young people for global citizenship. (How successfully the IB program does this is not the subject of this research).

During the problem definition stage (AB1) Boeke and Theis (headmasters AC1) proposed international student exchanges to promote cultural awareness. UNESCO (AC8) gave assistance for some projects concerned with international curricula under its mutual appreciation of other cultures program.

Four aggregations were influenced by cultural concerns at the next stage. Through the CIS, Boeke and Theis' student exchange project became formalised. Teachers (AC2) were looking for new ways of exposing students to other cultures and of generally supporting cross-cultural knowledge in the international school setting through the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education 1950 and the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962. UNESCO, an existing, institutional aggregation, continued to support IB-related projects for cultural reasons. UNESCO and the CIS were formal, long-term aggregations with constitutions, rules and a firm constituency; the latter amalgamated with ISA in 1969, while the two conferences of teachers were spasmodic, one-off groupings with a specific, but related, purpose for each occasion. These two conferences and the CIS continued their influence during the agenda setting stage; individuals such as Leach (teacher AC2) and Cole-Baker (headmaster AC1) were close to the ISA decision making body (Cole-Baker was part of it) and were able to successfully persuade people such as Goormaghtigh and Cook (parents AC3) of the need to consider an IB program which promised a diversity of cultural perspectives.

At the policy decision stage (AB4) these parents (AC3) along with Cole-Baker and Roquette (headmasters AC1) made the decision to ask the International School of Geneva to proceed with the contemporary history program, influenced greatly by the need for a culturally diverse approach in international schools and realising that, of all the subjects, history was the most culture-bound. This course, when completed, was printed by UNESCO (AC8, during the design stage (AB5) as part of their project concerned with the mutual appreciation of other cultures.

During the administration stage (AB6) only UNESCO and some non-

education professionals acted for cultural reasons. In fact, it is what UNESCO did *not* do that is important here. In 1974 the representatives of 14 countries (AC9) asked UNESCO to take over the financial and managerial operation of the IBO, as it seemed to fit its cultural (as well as its educational) objectives. (Peterson and Renaud also spoke at the 1974 UN Annual Assembly along identical lines but more for educational reasons). UNESCO (AC8) continued to support small contracts with the IBO which assisted principally program design, but decided against taking over the IBO and its operation for reasons which were elaborated during the discussion of the educational factor.

At the execution stage headmasters (AC1) and teachers (AC2) who delivered the IB program around the world saw its cultural (as well as its educational) benefits.

Administratively the IBO must cope with cultural differences. Being punctual with deadlines is contrary to accepted behaviour in some countries, and cheating by students and assistance from teachers with examination answers are concepts condoned in some Middle Eastern schools. The IBO has alleviated these difficulties through insistence on correct behaviour or deletion from the IB program.

Fax is the preferred method of communication, not only because it leaves a written record, but because phone conversations to Latin countries can be long and expensive due to the inherent prolixity of the people. The usually crisp, efficient British or German communication is not always possible. The cultural and economic factors are linked here.

At the same time it must be remembered that quite a number of international schools are not administered by people of the country in which the school is found. For example, in South America there are schools with predominant British and US personnel as well as other state or non-state international schools administered by Argentinians, Colombians or Brazilians. Cultural administrative difficulties are not, then, necessarily related to the country in which the school is found, but to the predominant culture of the school's administrative officers.

History

The historical context is cumulative: any event contributing to the initial conditions in which the IB idea germinated and subsequent events in the chain of IB development all adopt an historical perspective as time advances. The policy process stages are not necessarily chronological; they coexist and any one or more events may start and finish before, after or in tandem with another stage or stages. By contrast, historical events follow a strict sequence in relation to time. For this study the historical context includes matters related to the

problem definition stage which provided the background conditions necessary for an IB. (These have been enumerated under the "Nature of Influential Factors" in this chapter).

In addition there was the historical occurrence of decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s. It concerned, in effect, the extension of the franchise of citizenship to non-white people and ethnic groups. The assertion of the universal ideology of equality and equal human rights introduced ideological and political strains into the fabric of Western society. Equality of opportunity was a problem for transient student populations at the pre-university examination stage. The IB provided equality of opportunity in a growing number of places around the world. Nevertheless, the plight of the internationally mobile student could hardly be compared to that of the starving and illiterate in many developing countries where UNESCO's priorities lie.

These historical events were catalysts to the ferment of IB developmental activity during the early 1960s and on into the 1970s.

Geography

Geographical distance or remoteness can impede personal access from and to the IB Office. The geographical distance from the administrative centre of policy diffusion may also affect the implementation of policy. For example, the safe arrival of examination papers and despatch of manuscripts to and from Africa and parts of South America pose problems today because of the poor postal services; even expensive international courrier services are not always efficient in these parts of the world. Similarly, bringing teachers together for in-service training and feedback sessions imposes an increased financial burden and practical travel difficulties for schools in remote geographical areas. The geographical context partly refers in this study, then, to the position of IB schools around the world and is linked closely with, but is not exactly the same as, international diffusion.

The geographical location of schools has time implications. Time zone differences mean that telephone communication during normal working or waking hours between certain places is not possible; here, the fax is of vital assistance. Examination security is also affected. Measures need to be taken to avoid the relaying of examination questions by, for example, American students who will have taken the same examination six to eight hours earlier than their European counterparts. IB examinations in the US are scheduled so that the actual time difference with Europe is reduced considerably, in addition, students are obliged to remain with a supervisor when not doing an examination until a "safe" time period has elapsed.

Initially IB examinations took place in June (and later May) each year as

the vast majority of schools were in the northern hemisphere. Those few that were not, adjusted their teaching schedules and took the examinations almost mid-way through a school year. As the number of southern hemisphere schools grew, the need for November IB examinations became obvious. Not to provide them would have been detrimental to IB expansion in the southern hemisphere. Eleven subjects were first examined in November 1983 (**IBO Annual Bulletin** n22 1986: 29, 50-51) when four schools presented candidates (including St Leonard's, Melbourne) as compared with 131 schools for the May examinations of the same year (**IBO Annual Bulletin** n19 1983: 26). The number of subjects offered in November has progressively increased each year since 1983.

The geographical spread of schools led to the introduction of Spanish as the third official language of the IBO in 1982 as interest in Latin America and Spain grew. Dr Roger Peel, appointed director-general of the IBO in 1983, had been a Professor of Spanish in the US and is trilingual in English, Spanish and French. The IBO was preparing for expansion in the Spanish speaking world. (French, however, was not introduced as an official language because of the spread of IB schools in French speaking countries. From 1964 when ISES was formed, English and French became the official languages in line with UN organisations and because the IB grew out of the International School of Geneva which had English and French language sections. French was also still a major diplomatic language at that time in Europe).

Geography is also important for the structure of IBO. Regional offices and regional representatives were gradually created in accordance with IB adoption around the world in Europe, North America, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. Table 13.1 indicates the growth and geographical spread of IBO representation around the globe to 1992; it includes only those representatives and offices which were intended to cater for particular geographical regions. Hence the following are not included as they had *global* administrative and educational responsibilities: IBO Geneva, the Oxford Research Unit, the University of Southampton Language Centre and the Examinations Office at the London Institute of Education, then Bath and later Cardiff. (These appear in Table 9.3 in the discussion of the structure of IBO in Chapter 9).

Each of the lines ending with arrowheads indicates the period of time during which regional offices or representatives operate. Changes in status (representative to office) or in location are indicated by separating arrows on the same line with a slash which corresponds exactly to the separation in the text on the left hand side of Table 13.1. For example, a Latin American representative was appointed in Uruguay from 1978 to 1982 after which a full regional office was then provided in the same location. There is a slash to separate the arrow 1978-82 from the arrow

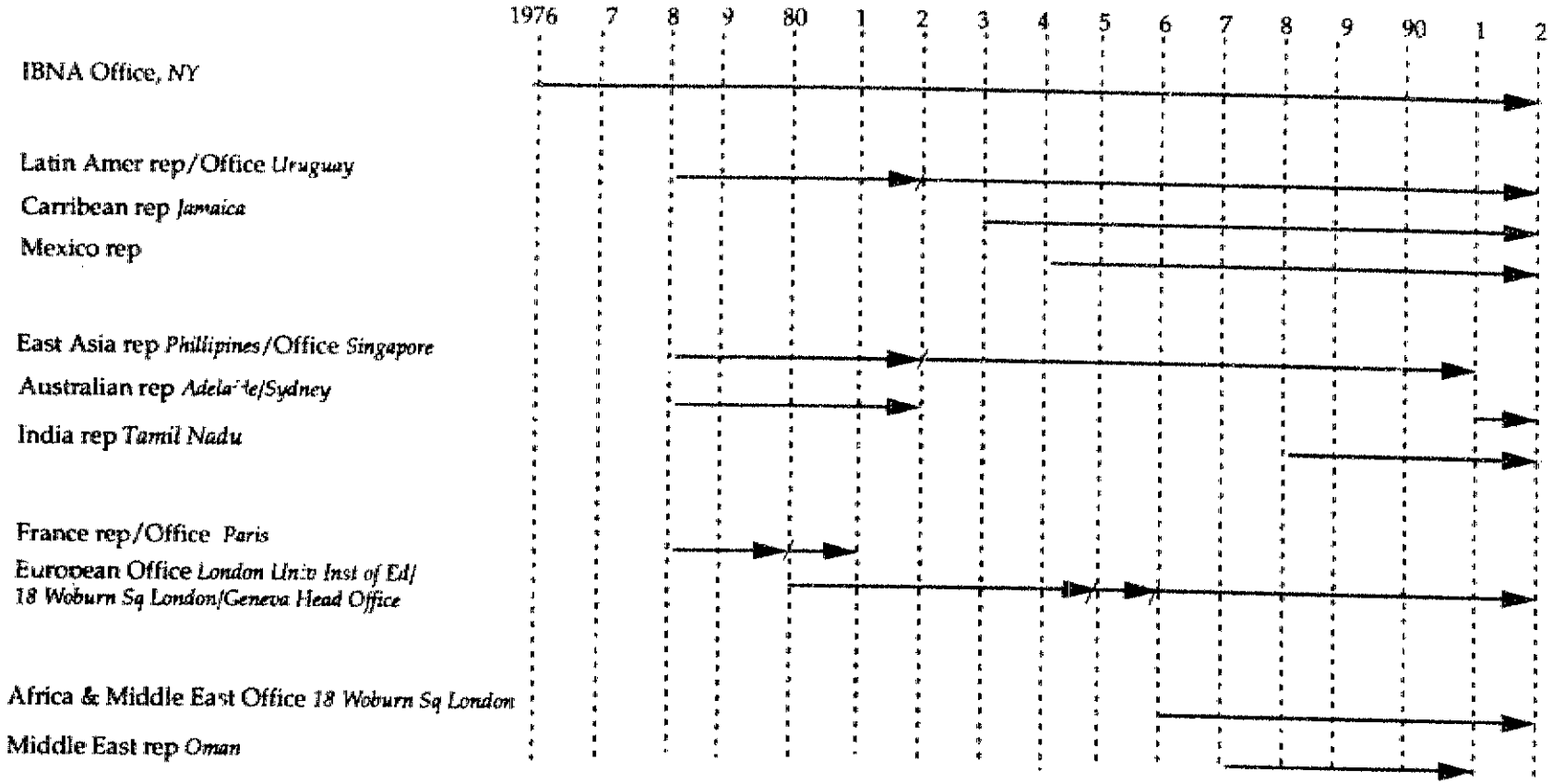

Table 13.1 Growth of IBO Regional Representation to 1992

1982-92 just as the text is separated "Latin American rep/Office *Uruguay*." The order of the segments of text separated by a slash correspond exactly to the order of time durations represented by the arrows and separated by a slash on the same line.

The Australian representative was the last director of the Oxford Research Unit, Kevin Marjoribanks, Professor of Education at the University of Adelaide, Australia. After a nine year period with no representative, an IB coordinator in a Sydney school now has that role from 1991. The French representative was the director of the Mission Laique whose office in Paris became the IB Office for France. This was not the precursor of the European Office. This office closed in 1981 when the IB fell out of favour with the Mission Laique and the ideals of the new socialist government. The growth in Latin America and the vastness of that geographical area led to the appointment of Carribean and Mexican representatives in addition to the office in Buenos Aires. For similar reasons the East Asia Office (called the Asia Pacific Office from 1992) has representatives in India and Australia. Major regional representation occurred in 1978. Today the IBO retains a regional office presence for the following five major geographical areas which are grouped in Table 13.1: North America (USA and Canada), Europe, East Asia(-Pacific), Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. These assist in overcoming the remoteness from Geneva but the distances, travel and communication services within regions such as Africa, Asia and South America can be problematic.

The geographical location of the Examinations Office of IBO in Cardiff was influenced by considerations of easy access between Geneva and Cardiff personnel, and the financial advantage of being in that part of Wales as compared with the more expensive city of Geneva. Recent annual IB Council of Foundation Meetings have discussed the financial benefits of moving out of Geneva to a less expensive part of the world, but the current geographical location is more politically desirable than financially disadvantageous. It is very important that the IB be seen not to represent any particular country; Geneva is a politically neutral city with a history of housing respectable international organisations whose credibility is enhanced by their being recognised under Swiss law.

Political Context

The political context comprises both party politics and the distribution of power between groups or individuals within society and within organisations. Actions taken within both arenas of the political context are influenced by other existing policies. For example, a socialist government with a policy of providing equal educational opportunity to all students may use such a platform to refuse encouragement of IB program implementation in one or more government schools, the argument being that this would give an educational advantage to a

privileged few. The arrival of the socialist government in France in May 1981 reversed decisions of the previous right-wing government which had officially accepted the teaching of the IB in three French state schools. This new political environment impacted directly on the development of the IB in France. It is conceivable that the adoption of the IB by a number of independent schools in France and by government and non-government schools in the rest of the world might influence a change in the political platform of the government in power; this has not occurred to date. This writer is currently headmaster of the only school in France under the French ministry of education where the full IB diploma is offered and supported unofficially by local education ministry personnel.

In power play between individuals, personality, sometimes more than hierachical position of authority, determines who is the most influential. Reputation and financial dominance are other factors which may be on the side of winners in power conflicts.

As Figure 13.9 shows, the influence of the political context is restricted to three sets of actors: education officials (AC7), UNESCO (AC8) and non-education professionals (AC9). During both the problem definition (AB1) and aggregation (AB2) stages, UNESCO support stemmed from a fundamental political stance which underlies its very existence: as the largest agency of the UN its mission is to create world political harmony through support for educational, scientific and cultural initiatives, particularly in developing countries. Representatives of the Arab United Republic (non-education professionals AC9) proposed a project of interchangeable curricula to the 1962 Annual General Conference of UNESCO which gave added ISA agenda status to the idea of some common international program. The assumption is that these diplomats were motivated principally by political concerns of world harmony. UNESCO as an agency of the UN makes many decisions designed to improve political harmony amongst its member nations.

It may seem surprising that the political context plays no part in the policy decision (AB4) where power play between individuals is usually most critical. In the case of the IB idea there were no opposing factions within the ISA or within the board of the International School of Geneva. Moreover, since the policy decision itself was free from details of procedure, which might have produced variant views, and was couched as a *recommendation* to the board of the International School of Geneva, it required only agreement in principle, which all were unequivocally able to give.

Design (AB5) of the educational program was unrelated to political influence but during the administration stage (AB6) the politics of world peace prompted the representatives (non-education professionals AC9) of Switzerland, Cameroon and Chile to suggest, at UNESCO's

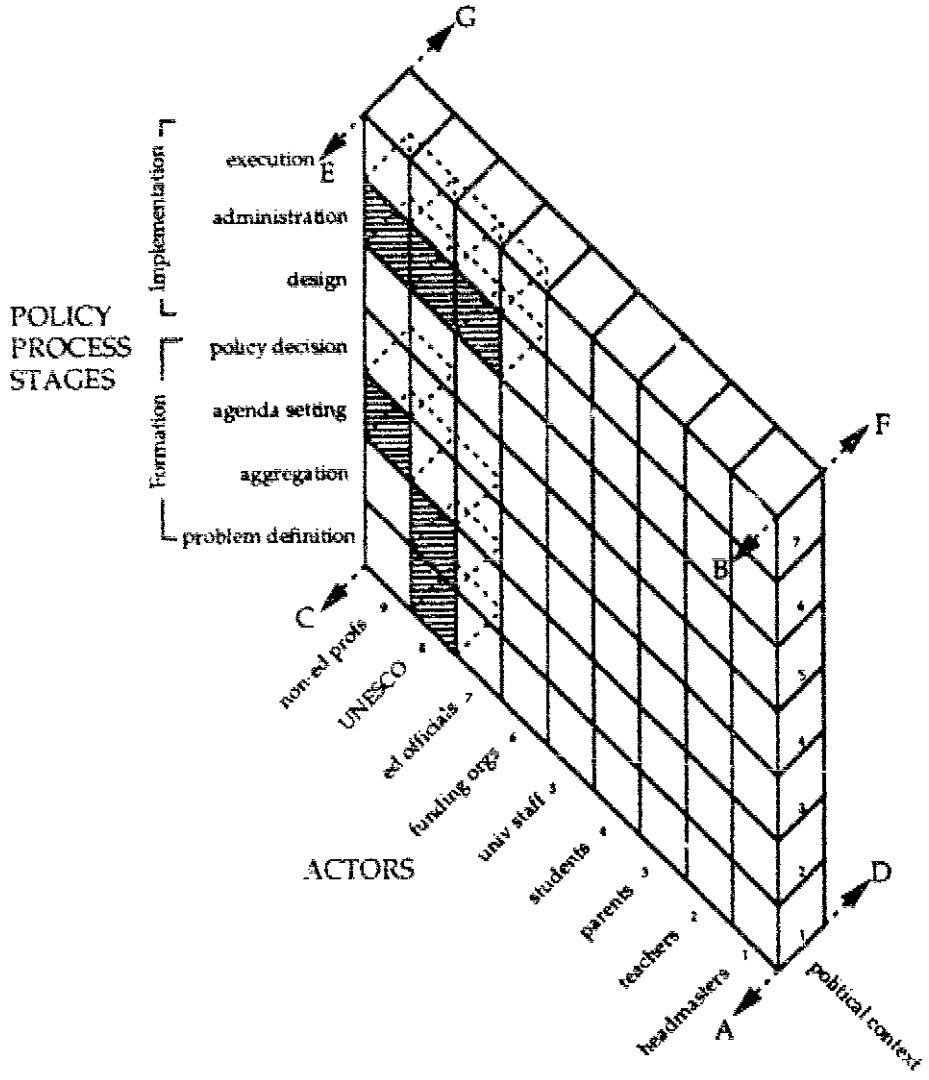

Figure 13.9 The Influence of the Political Context on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

1968 Annual General Conference, that the IBO be subsumed by UNESCO (AC8). Power relationships between individuals played an important role amongst some education officials (AC7). People such as Capelle and Hatinguais, holding key authority positions in the highly centralised French ministry of education and holding strong, positive convictions about the IB, had absolute power over the many beneath them.

Actors such as Lord Mountbatten could "pull rank" on prominent diplomats and highly placed government officials around the world, such was his standing, reputation and "old boy" connections. His suggestions were not refused lightly. Equally, while U Thant (Secretary of the UN) and Fernig (assistant director-general of UNESCO at the time) were supportive in principle and conveyed this to their employees, UNESCO was not able to take over the IBO and provide the financial and structural security sought in 1975-77. The reason was political: UNESCO could not be seen to be diverting some of its financial resources so desperately needed to mount literacy and numeracy programs, and to provide compulsory schooling beyond 9 or 10 years of age in many developing countries, to support a program intended at the time for a small group of students fortunate enough to move around the world with their parents and with the capacity to pay fees in non-state international schools of some prestige. The member governments of UNESCO would have seen such support as elitist, contrary to the ideals of the organisation, and therefore politically undesirable.

During the execution stage, the most prevalent influences were educational, not political, since the schools were chosen or proposed themselves during the trial examination period on the basis of their interest and willingness to participate in the IB program.

The IB is free from governmental political interference. IBO is a non-government, independent organisation un-aligned with the educational philosophy of any particular country. Because of the widespread geographical distribution of IB schools, the total network is cushioned from adverse political actions somewhere in the world. Only one small part of the overall fabric can be damaged as the IBO schools are educationally cohesive but politically quite independent, responding to national, not international, governmental demands.

Technology

In this study this refers to the improvements in speed and distance-span of communications systems such as television, telephone and facsimile transmission via satellite, supersonic flights, international computer links and access to data bases. Technological advances from 1920 facilitated increasing international mobility of parents (AC3) who

were also non-education professionals (AC9). This contributed to the problem definition (AB1) for which the IB was a response.

Figure 13.10 shows that, as an influential factor, technology played a part only during the problem definition (AB1), administration (AB6) and execution (AB7) stages. The latter two stages concern only education officials (AC7), that is, IBO staff who were able to diffuse the IB program and generally maintain contact across the globe with the increasing efficiency of air travel and communications systems. Schools, at the other end, were able to keep close to the IB office during the execution stage providing they had communications equipment of the same sophistication. A recent advancement is that IB examination results are now available much more quickly and directly to schools via international computer links.

International Diffusion

Anderson (1984: 23) uses this term to portray the effect that the same policy adoption by several countries has on those countries where the policy does not exist, or where it is being considered. While he sees it as involving international politics between governments, particularly in the area of defence, it is equally valid to express the phenomenon of IB proliferation throughout the globe, both at government and individual school level. Party politics in education on an international scale have weak links although these are becoming much stronger amongst members of the European Community as common educational policies are shaped, notably in the areas of equivalencies of qualifications for transfer to and from tertiary courses between countries. At a government level it is unlikely that adoption of the IB in some state schools in country X would influence similar action in country Y. Because governments are usually nationalistic, they do not necessarily follow other governments except in matters of survival (such as defence policies) - education is rarely given such *international* importance in a national setting. This is not so between different states or regions of the same country. Many state authorities within the USA adopted the IB in some state schools; this *did* have an effect on other state education authorities within that country (Hagoort interview 1991, Carus interview 1992). Hence, a phenomenon of "national diffusion" operated.

International diffusion is, however, quite important in the competitive world of international schools whose very existence usually depends solely on the level of tuition and or boarding fees received. Advertisements by international schools appear regularly in such publications as *The Herald Tribune, The Financial Times, The Times Educational Supplement, Investment International, Resident Abroad, The International* and *Expatriate Today*. More importantly, experience of international school programs is passed on by word of mouth

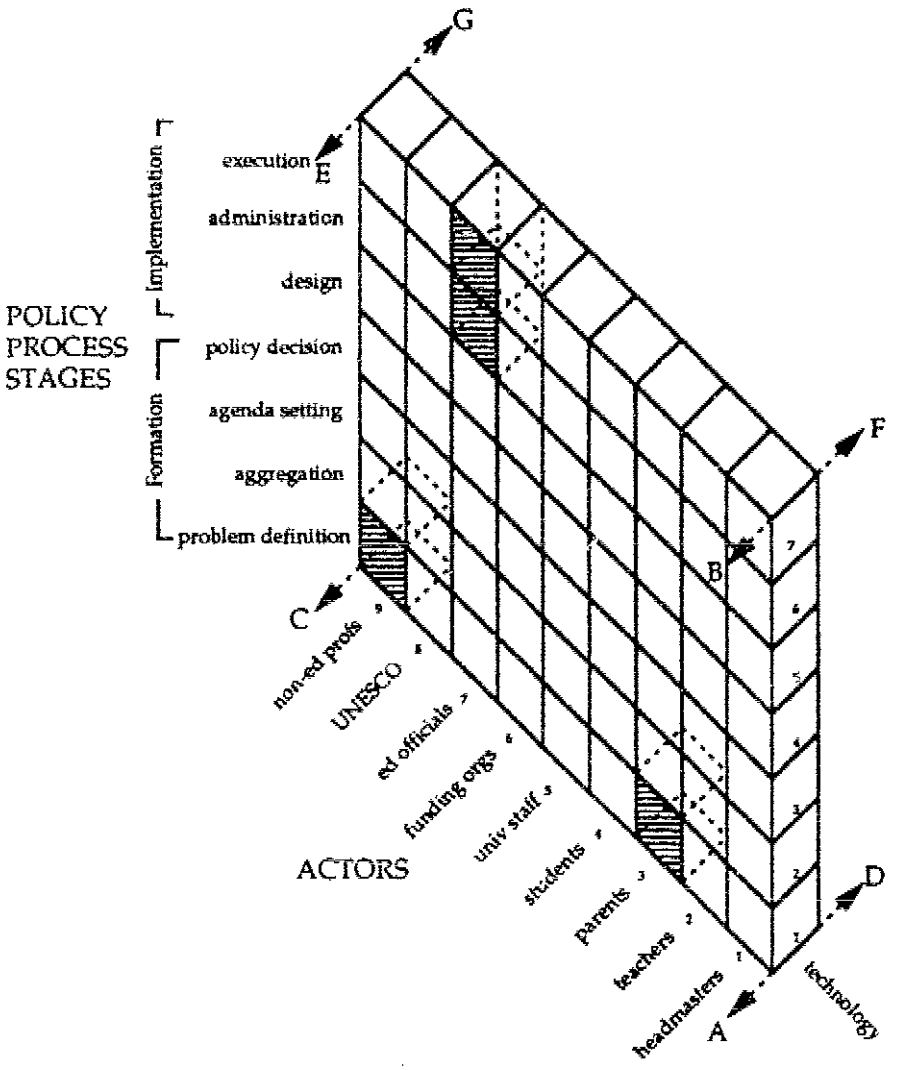

Figure 13.10 The Influence of Technology on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

through business networks and family friends. Where a non-IB school decline in student applications can be related to a client movement towards schools offering the IB program, international diffusion becomes influential. (This observation is equally true of any educational program). In effect, there is a power struggle between non-state fee-paying schools to survive: international diffusion of the IB program is an important factor in this struggle.

International diffusion has influence only during the administration (AB6) and execution (AB7) stages and only with client actors: headmasters, teachers, parents, students and university admissions officers (see Figure 13.11). During the administration stage international marketing aimed at universities, schools and examining authorities influences schools and parents to try the IB program. As IB diploma-holders began to enrol at universities around the world, other universities accepted IB students because of the effect of international diffusion during the execution stage. For the same reason headmasters in non-IB schools showed interest in the program as it spread steadily throughout a number of international schools and IB diploma-holders were successful at university.

Summary

This chapter commenced with an identification of the nature of environmental and other influential factors. The impact of IB adoption on the environmental context from a systems perspective was then outlined. Again the reader was reminded that the number of cubic spaces occurring at a particular policy process stage indicates the *diversity* of actors who are affected by the influential factor under discussion and not the *intensity* of the influential factor for that stage.

The rest of the chapter was concerned with the extent to which each influential factor figures at different policy process stages and the actors most affected. The discussion was accompanied by a visual representation for each influential factor, consonant with the geometric orientation of the conceptual framework: technical analysis, family welfare, ideologies, self-interest, economic context, educational context, social context (comprising demography, culture, history and geography), political context, technology and international diffusion.

Conclusions drawn from this chapter appear in Chapter 14.

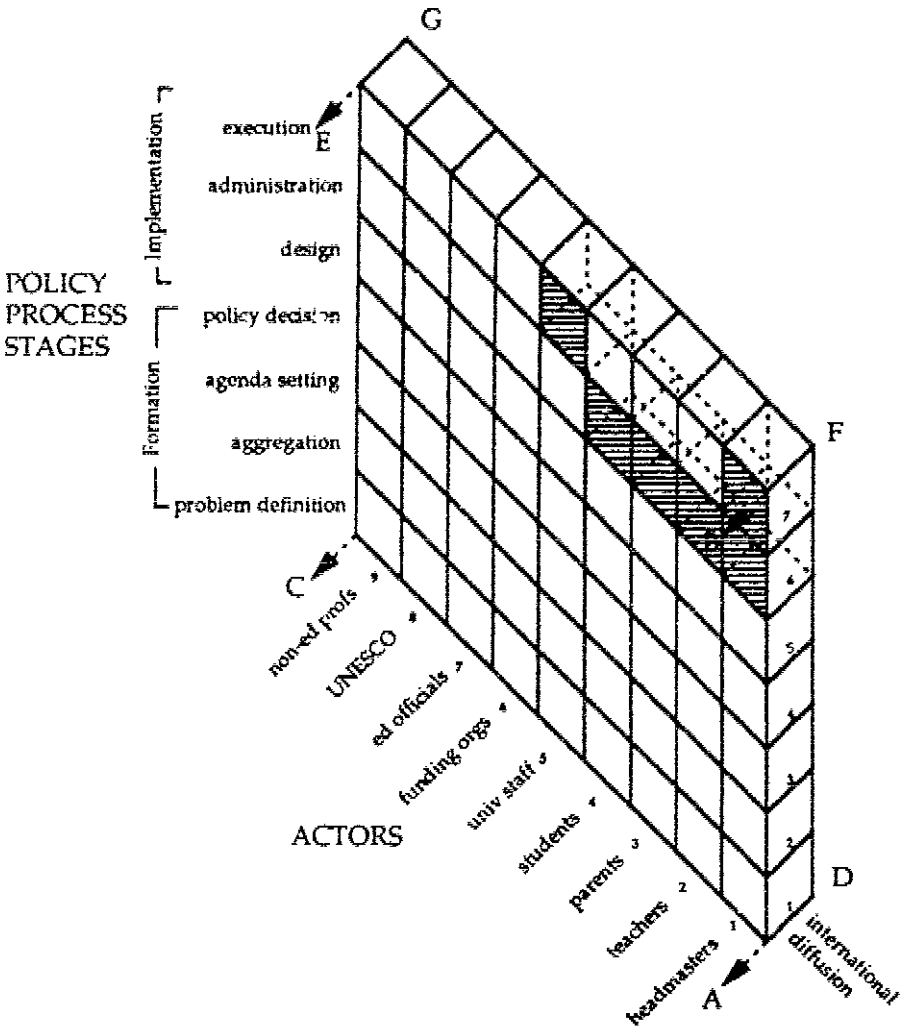

Figure 13.11 The Influence of International Diffusion on Actors Across Policy Process Stages

CHAPTER 14

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter attempts to identify and summarise the factors that have led to the creation and maintenance of the IB. Specifically it seeks to respond to the research question:

> What are the characteristics of policy formation and implementation which led to the establishment of the IB diploma and the IB Office?

Findings Concerning IB Development

Policy Process Stages

Problem Definition

The antecedents of the IB go back to the creation of the League of Nations in 1920 and the founding of the International School of Geneva in 1924 to provide schooling for the children of parents employed by that international organisation. The first headmaster, Meyhoffer, proposed a *maturité internationale* in 1925 to ease access to universities world-wide. The growing mobility of expatriate families after the Second World War exacerbated the problems of ready acceptance in "home" universities or those in host countries. Environmental factors which contributed to international displacement are: the UN replacing the League of Nations in 1945, decolonisation, the emergence of the US as a world power, the post-World War Two economic boom and subsequent international expansion of companies, the Fulbright Act, and technological advances. UNIS, established in 1947 in New York, was the second school in the world to be founded with the aid of the UN.

The problems identified were:
1 difficulty of access to universities on a global scale (demographic);
2 lack of appropriate curricula for internationally mobile students (educational);
3 division of students into national groups to teach the programs of some countries (cultural); and
4 financially unviable class sizes stemming from the three above (economic).

During the Experimental Period from 1970 to 1976 the IBO recognised the attraction of the IB for national schools (both state and non-state), given the large number of such schools adopting the IB in North America (and later in Spain and the Netherlands) for example.

Program design was not at all influenced by this somewhat unexpected clientele. The IB was fulfilling its original purposes and in addition was providing an academic challenge where none was perceived in some national school systems. There was, then, a new purpose (and hence a new element in the problem definition) brought about by client demand which the IBO then accepted as a further use of the IB. Many of the North American institutions which have adopted the IB belong to the state and private national system with little claim to "international school" status in the same way as those schools for whom the IB was originally intended. Nevertheless the IB brings, in addition to an academic challenge, an international outlook to the school curriculum for largely national students - an extremely valid use.

Aggregation

The first aggregation of international educators occurred with the meeting of heads of Internationally-Minded Schools (which became the CIS) in Paris at the instigation of the headmaster of a progressive Dutch school, Kees Boeke, and with the support of UNESCO. Boeke and Theis (of Cévénol, France) mooted an international diploma in 1949. The CIS was responsible for a second aggregation, the 1950 Course for Teachers Interested in International Education, held in Geneva; this was the first known meeting of *teachers* from different schools to discuss international education.

The foundation of ISA in 1951 by parents of a small number of international schools associated with the UN marked the establishment of the aggregation which was to formally launch and support the IB some eleven years later. The ISA organised the 1962 Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools which became the catalyst of the IB.

Agenda Setting

The agenda setting stage was marked by the following considerations. The size of the population affected was very tiny compared with the number of students completing national university entrance courses around the world, but the nature of the group made it significant: initially the children of UN and multi-national company employees displaced around the world with diplomatic, political and business clout on an international scale, propelled into action by a concern for family welfare. The problems of global university access and the financial unviability of small national teaching groups were the most pressing. The value of an international curriculum perspective, the attraction of an academic challenge and the desirability of mixing different cultures in the one class group were undeniable, but the extent to which they could be regarded as urgent and serious problems (a determinant of agenda setting) is questionable. Idealism concerning

world peace also led to persuasive arguments in favour of the IB. The IB offered a solution to all these issues.

Indicators of the importance of the problem for agenda setting rested on the preoccupations of the decision makers, access to them and the quality of the presentation.

The 1962 Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools played a major agenda setting role and included Cole-Baker and Leach; the former was one of the decision makers of the ISA and the latter had direct access to the board members of the International School of Geneva (including Goormaghtigh and Cole-Baker). When the main agenda setters also have a role in the decision, there is more chance of success.

Policy Decision

Grindle and Thomas (1989: 233) identify four factors which influence elite decisions in government:
1 technical advice
2 impact of the decision on bureaucratic interaction - does it enhance the fortunes of the enterprise or the individual?
3 change for political stability or support
4 extent of international economic and political dependency.

Grindle & Thomas' factors are hardly applicable at the decision making stage (as has been discussed) but they made a contribution to the conceptual framework of this study where they equate with the following influential factors: technical analysis, self-interest, political context and economic context. The main motivation of the ISA decision makers was not concerned with these factors but was rooted in idealism. In terms of Grindle & Thomas' "perceived crisis" and "politics-as-usual" paradigm (Table 2.1 page 41) the ISA decision was neither one nor the other, but was closer to "perceived crisis" circumstances when one considers the urgent financial predicament of the International School of Geneva and the problems of international university access and unsuitable national curricula, both of which were becoming more pressing. The concerns were not political - they were demographic, educational, cultural, ideological and economic, and the stakes represented by these concerns were high. While the decision itself was not entirely original, as it had been mooted before, it marked the beginning of a pioneering educational program; it was not an incremental decision.

The decision makers (the ISA) were a self-made group who wished to address the problems put forward during the agenda setting stage; their preoccupations were, then, consonant with those of the proponents of the IB. Moreover, access to the decision makers was facilitated by the

fact that some of the executive, including the president, were also members of the board of the International School of Geneva whence the idea was emerging.

Design

The IB itself grew from the class room. Throughout its growth, classroom teachers were always in the vast majority on subject committees. They and their students provided feedback on curriculum design and assessment techniques as the various subjects were developed with an international perspective and academic rigour in collaboration initially with those in charge of examination boards in the UK, France and the USA. This was n an innovation imposed by educational administrators or governments. It was an innovation almost passionately desired by teachers.

The planning part of the design stage for the development of the IB involved preparation for marketing, program delivery, the provision of human and material resources, and funding. The most significant planning step was when the ISA decided to create the ISES in 1964 which, in turn, established the IB Office in 1967 to carry out these administrative functions associated with the IB program.

The actors involved in planning for the administration and execution of the IB in the 1960s were the executive committees of, in order, ISA, ISES and IBO. Salaried professional and administrative staff were also planners when the IBO commenced.

Administration

This stage was discussed in terms of marketing, human and material resources, program delivery and funding. The ISA, ISES and IBO had to market to the world and to seek university recognition world-wide.

Program delivery in the late 1960s and 1970s was concerned with the dissemination of materials such as subject curricula, teachers' guides and regulations to schools participating in the trial exams; workshops to which subject teachers from different schools were invited also occurred. Timetabling and other organisational details had to be considered by schools.

In the area of human and material resource ISES and IBO recruited professional administrators, secretarial staff and examiners to undertake marketing, financial management and program delivery. Pilot schools already had such structures in place; their emphasis was on procuring the materials, establishing reference libraries, locating suitable course books and preparing the teachers who were to teach the IB by sending them to workshops and bringing experienced IB teachers

to the schools.

ISES and IBO needed funding for program design: to bring teachers and other curriculum developers together, and to print and disseminate the results of their work. Funding was also needed to establish an infrastructure, to employ staff, to market the IB, to seek further funding, and to coordinate the examination procedures including the appointment of examiners. Hundreds of thousands of US dollars were granted by benevolent organisations.

Execution

During the trial examinations of 1967 to 1969 and the Experimental Period of 1970 to 1976 the IB program was taught in 37 schools around the world and over 6 200 students sat IB examinations. There were approximately 200 examiners by 1976 and 350 universities in 38 countries had accepted IB diploma holders. In many of these schools students were required to sit local and IB examinations; a significant amount of concurrent teaching of local and IB courses occurred, usually for financial reasons associated with viable class sizes. During the trialling of the IB, feedback via the Consultative Committee was a fundamental evaluative part of the execution stage.

The IB was considered elitist by some potential and existing "clients." It has a degree of intellectual elitism as it is intended for university-bound students, but the provision of certificate courses provides some access by the less academically inclined. It is no more elitist in a socio-economic sense than the great number of private fee-paying schools that exist around the world. It is also worth remembering that, as at 1976, the IB had been accepted in a number of state schools (including some in developing countries) where the costs were borne by the state education authorities.

Actors

Headmaster Cole-Baker was common to all stages of the policy process. The importance of a headmaster's encouragement and support is borne out by this study; he enthused his teachers to create an international curriculum. He had vision and stayed with the project until the trial examinations in 1967. Cole-Baker was particularly active in marketing the IB and obtaining financial assistance. The HSC (Standing Conference of Heads of IB Schools) owes its existence to a headmaster of the International School of Geneva, Lejeune, who convened a meeting in 1967 for economic reasons. Headmasters acted at every policy process stage.

Leach was the first major influence amongst teachers, followed by Renaud, Bonner, Poirel and others. The IB was a teacher-inspired

initiative whereby teachers were active in all stages except the policy decision itself. Leach and Renaud had a direct line to the elite decision makers of ISA whose formal support was needed as the teachers had no on-going organisational structure to attract funding; the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools was a one-off event.

The first known grouping of parents from international schools spanning the Atlantic was the creation of ISA in 1951 by Cook of the International School of Geneva. Motivated by family welfare, educational and ideological (the first parents all worked for the UN) concerns, this aggregation gathered to discuss international education and eventually promoted the IB. Goormaghtigh, member of the board of the International School of Geneva, was a leading force both as parent and later as non-education professional. He linked all policy formation stages and played a major part in promulgating the IB as president of the IBO Council during the administration stage. Parents acted in all but the design stage which is a specialist area requiring technical expertise in curriculum development and assessment.

No aggregation of students occurred to ask for an IB so they do not figure in the formation phase. They were involved as clients during the administration stage (when they were attracted by IB publicity) and the execution stage where they participated in ever-increasing numbers in the trial examinations. They had the courage to be involved in an experiment with support from a small number of universities who agreed to provisionally accept the IB qualification. Students were also actors in the design stage by participating in the annual Consultative Committee to give feedback on the curriculum and examinations. Students were influenced by self-interest: gaining an international education and access to universities world-wide.

University staff did not act in the formation phase; their contribution first occurred when Siotis of Geneva became the chairman of the ISES (International Schools Examination Syndicate) in 1964. It was appropriate that a leading university academic should be at the head of the examinations board since the whole success of the IB depended on its acceptance by universities around the globe. Halls of Oxford attended the 1964 Sèvres conference at which the IB was presented and was partly responsible for Peterson becoming involved. Other university staff acted for reasons of educational interest as IB examiners. University admissions officers were supportive for reasons of self-interest: it facilitated their difficult task of equating disparate secondary school qualifications.

Peterson covers a number of actor categories although he was essentially university staff at the time of his initial involvement. Teachers in training from the Department of Education at Oxford spent time at the International School of Geneva so Peterson heard of the

curriculum initiative and was further appraised of it by Halls after the Sèvres conference. Peterson as a headmaster assisted Blackburn (deputy-headmaster) with curriculum development at Atlantic College in the summer of 1962 when the new school was looking for an international curriculum in keeping with the arrival of its multinational student body. This was an important contribution to the problem definition stage. As director of the Department of Education at Oxford, Peterson then came to Geneva to look at the IB project in 1964 after the ISA had recommended that it proceed. He entered, then, at the design stage in which he played a major educational role, particularly in the design of the Theory of Knowledge and CAS (Creativity Action Service) components. As director-general of ISES and IBO (education official) he added marketing to his design function and was instrumental in acquiring the important funding from the Ford Foundation which allowed the project to continue. He was a person of high leverage whose main contribution occurred throughout the implementation phase. Ideological and educational concerns were his principal motivating forces.

With the exception of one foundation, funding organisations acted during the design and administration stages only. The Ford Foundation provided a 1955 grant to UNIS to develop an international primary and middle school course (not to develop an international university entrance qualification). This action recognised that there was a problem in offering national curricula to a group of mutlinational students and as such was an important contribution to the problem definition and agenda setting stages. It created a precedent for substantial funding of initiatives in international education. ISA was aware of this when it recommended that teachers at the International School of Geneva proceed with the IB.

Funding for the IB project took time. The first grant came from the Twentieth Century Fund for which Leach had written a proposal in 1962. When no result was forthcoming a board member of the International School of Geneva and Trustee of the Foundation, Georges-Henri Martin, made overtures in 1963. Finally Hecksher, president Kennedy's adviser on the arts, visited Cole-Baker in Geneva in 1964 and a few months later the first funding was agreed to. The educationist, Martin Mayer, came with the financial assistance and wrote a book on the experience, as was customary with Twentieth Century Fund grants.

The Ford Foundation provided substantial funding from 1966, but again after a number of approaches in New York:
. Knight (International School of Geneva) in August 1963
. Leach and Siotis in April 1964
. Ford consultant visits Cole-Baker in Geneva, June 1965
. Cole-Baker, Renaud and Poirel in July 1965

. Peterson and Hanson in September 1965 when the funding was agreed to.

The time and influence required to clinch this major grant is instructive (as with the Twentieth Fund). It was the educational stature of Oxford and Harvard/American College Entrance Examinations Board represented by Peterson and Hanson respectively that convinced the Ford authorities of the credibility of the IB venture.

Numerous other bodies and individuals gave financial support at various times, particularly in relation to the establishment of IBNA. These were often, though not always, through personal contacts. The first known financial support for an international education initiative was from UNESCO in 1949 for the initial meeting of what became the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools (CIS). Other assistance followed in 1950 for the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education, in 1951 for the establishment of ISA and in 1962 for the Course for Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools. This funding identified the lack of international curricula and of a global university entrance qualification; UNESCO therefore contributed to the problem definition stage and to the formation of these four aggregations which, in turn, had a positive effect at the agenda setting stage. UNESCO was the most consistent supporter of the IB project via a number of smaller but important contracts in relation to curriculum development and assessment techniques in certain subject areas (program design). UNESCO's Education Division was present at the meeting of the four groupings, this gave credibility and encouragement. UNESCO did not take over the IB project for political, ideological and cultural reasons connected with its charter.

Education officials assume importance during all stages of the implementation phase. As director-general of ISES from 1966 and IBO from 1967 to 1977, Peterson was the most active education official in design, administration and execution of the IB program. Renaud and Bonner completed the trio of core ISES/IBO idealists and they provided continuity as *teachers* during the problem definition stage and at the beginning of the design stage. Renaud was particularly important for gaining the cooperation of the French ministry of education. Mayer (Twentieth Century Foundation), and Tyler and Bowles (Ford Foundation) had influence on the project during the funding period of the organisations they represented. The director-general of education in the Netherlands, Gathier, was instrumental in persuading his minister for education to call together in the Hague in 1976 the first meeting of governments to discuss the IB and its financial future. This was the forerunner of the London inter-governmental conference the following year which saw the formation of the Standing Conference of Governments (SCG), moved by Goormaghtigh. Other education officials were IB examiners drawn from non-teaching posts, usually at inspectorate level, in education ministries in a number of countries.

Non-education professionals were active during three stages. Dr Van Houtte, a lawyer, created the European Schools in 1957 and the European Baccalaureate in 1959; this highlighted the problem of university entrance for mobile families across Europe and provided an important contextual factor in support of an IB. Before the European Baccalaureate, the League of Nations and UN non-education professionals (who were also parents) were *the* driving force behind the creation of the international School of Geneva, UNIS and the UN Nursery Schools in Paris and Washington to cater for these mobile children. Both Houtte and the other non-education professionals contributed to an awareness of the problem of internationally mobile students. The pressure of the League of Nations/UN employees and the establishment of the European Baccalaureate were significant events during the agenda setting stage for the ISA decision makers.

A whole different group of non-education professionals acted to market the IB during the administration stage. These were often public figures with an extremely high degree of leverage; they appear in Table 12.6 (page 299). These elite actors greatly facilitated the acceptance of the IB at the highest diplomatic, political and ministry of education levels in many countries. It is difficult to imagine how the IB might have succeeded without these international actors, given the necessity to break through national prejudices for what amounted to (and still does) a tiny percentage of the world's student population.

In summary, the IB qas an innovation designed principally by teachers and championed by a handful of notable educators, politicians and benefactors. These latter formed a team of elite actors of sometimes formidable international stature and clout who gained national government acceptance of the IB in a number of countries.

There were many interlocking events, sometimes across the Atlantic (Geneva and UNIS), but the research clearly shows that the IB owes its creation to the ideals, courageous dedication and efficacy of (in alphabetical order) Cole-Baker (headmaster), Goormaghtigh (parent, non-education professional), Leach (teacher), Peterson (headmaster, university staff, education official), and Renaud (teacher, education offical) and other teachers in Geneva. Much depended on their skill in attracting influential people to their cause and in using existing bodies and institutions. They acted principally out of idealism for a peaceful world (borne of war experience or forming part of a religious faith such as Quakerism).

Actors served a linkage function across stages and phases. When they changed functions and categories of the conceptual framework, the linkage was individually-based rather than category-based.

Influential Factors

These factors rarely operate in isolation; their overlapping nature is discussed later in this chapter under "Theory Development."

Six environmental factors are identified: economic, educational, social (demographic, cultural, historical, geographical), political, technological and international diffusion. Three other factors are defined as more personal, emanating from the individual rather than being public phenomena which affect populations (the environmental factors): family welfare, ideologies and self-interest. Ideologies may be collective and therefore representative of a group or a particular culture, but the focus in this study has been on ideologies as personal beliefs which motivate action. Technical analysis is a function performed by experts. The findings of such an analysis of the IB program at its various stages of development was influential in engaging the interest and action of a number of educational actors. The roles of each influential factor will now be considered in turn.

Technical analysis is an intrinsic part of the scientific model of decision making. This factor was influential during stages of the policy implementation phase, but not during the formation phase. The reason is that the policy decision was taken without regard to technical specifications of the international baccalaureate; it was an in-principle decision which left the details up to the experts. Funding organisations and UNESCO relied on technical analysis to decide whether to provide assistance. Education officials, headmasters and teachers had to be sure of the philosophy, content, methodology and assessment procedures of the IB before accepting it. University staff had to satisfy themselves about the standard of the program and its examinations. Some actors also became IB subject examiners after careful scrutiny of the programs.

The family welfare factor is more prevalent during the formation phase and touches only parents. The original *raison d'être* of the IB was to overcome the problem of university education for children of internationally mobile families without leaving children in the homeland while parents worked abroad. The ISA aggregation of parents, worried about the education of these children, also became the decision making body concerning development of the IB. After execution of the program parents sought out the IB for their own children.

Ideologies affected six out of the nine categories of actors and occurred in all stages except design. The derivations of ideologies in this study are discussed in this chapter under "Theory Development."

Self-interest affected university admissions officers during the

administration and execution stages: here was an acceptable international qualification which would alleviate the difficulty of equating numerous national diplomas with a large risk of being unjust in the process. Students naturally acted out of self-interest when they took the program. This writer has argued that the lack of measurable influence by this factor in the majority of actors is indicative that self-agrandisement and promotion were not motivating influences. This factor remains, nevertheless, very ambiguous and extremely difficult to detect unless avowed directly by actors themselves.

During the formation phase the economic context of multiple unviable national class groupings in school was an influential factor which prevailed upon parents and headmasters. During the design and administration stages there was a necessity to fund the project - this led to the involvement of funding organisations and individual benefactors. The Standing Conference of Heads of IB Schools (HSC) was created in 1977, initially to urge schools to pay an annual contribution to the IBO when the funding organisation grants ran out. In addition the Standing Conference of Governments (SCG) was created in 1978. An annual subscription in the order of US$15 000 (at the time) entitled governments to membership of this body. These were two events motivated by the need to establish an economic context conducive to the proper functioning of the IBO and involving headmasters and non-education professionals respectively.

The educational context was the most pervasive of all influential factors: it affected every stage and involved all actors. This context comprised existing programs such as the European Baccalaureate and national curricula; it included the four educational aggregations which grouped together headmasters (CIS 1949), teachers (Course for Teachers Interested in Internaitonal Education 1951, Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962) and parents (ISA 1951). UNESCO's project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures impinged on the educational content of school programs and allowed for a number of IB-related projects to be funded by that organisation. Actors promoting the IB created a favourable educational context by talking to and involving individuals in ministries of education and schools in the development of the program. The results of the Oxford Research Unit provided important educational feedback which was used to adjust the program. At the execution stage, as more schools adopted the IB and more student graduates gained the diploma and travelled or settled around the globe, an international educational environment was being formed which was disproportionately influential to its very disparate nature and its small numbers. Internationally mobile families represent a tiny percentage of any national population, but the parents usually hold highly responsible positions in the UN and its agencies or in multinational companies and therefore have clout. The IB, then, became part of, and contributed

to, the educational context in which it was developing.

The factor "social context" includes demography, culture, history and geography so as not to clutter the conceptual framework. Social influences occur at each stage of the policy process and affect all categories of actors except education officials, funding organisations and university staff. The demography of families shifting from country to country was the main reason for first wanting an international university entrance qualification. The cultural component comprises acceptance of other cultures and religious beliefs - an awareness that so many of our educational concepts are culture-bound. The historical element is cumulative and strictly time-sequenced. The historical context for the IB commences with the League of Nations in 1920 and continues through the creation of the United Nations, decolonisation of the 1950s and 1960s, the emergence of the US as a world power, the Fulbright Act and the economic optimism after World War Two - all of which promoted international mobility.

The geographical positioning of schools from each other had implications for examination security while distance from the IBO in Geneva or the Examinations Office in Cardiff affected methods of communication and led to the establishment of regional offices.

Power distribution between groups or individuals and the politics of government comprise the political context which affects only three sets of actors: education officials, UNESCO and non-education professionals. The political context occurs across three policy formation stages and one implementation stage. Personality, reputation and financial dominance are factors which can determine a political context somewhat independently of hierarchical authority, although the latter is not without influence in government bureaucracies. Since the ISA decision makers were an aggregation of like-minded people and the decision was a general recommendation, there were no opposing factions, and therefore no power play at that stage. Political influence was important amongst the high-ranking non-education professionals who promulgated the IB in government, diplomatic and education ministry circles. IB schools around the world are educationally linked but politically quite independent.

The technological context was a catalyst towards international mobility after the Second World War, and influenced organisational decisions as international communication systems became more developed.

International diffusion came into effect in the last two stages of the policy process: during marketing of the IB (administration) and adoption of the program (execution). The principal influence of international diffusion was to prompt international schools to undertake the IB program from a desire to:

. provide a curriculum with an international perspective;
. provide a qualification recognised by many universities throughout the world; and
. be competitive by offering a program which has had success elsewhere and which might be in demand.

Methodological Considerations

The historical case study approach has been used in this research which is therefore descriptive and qualitative in design. The difficulties arising out of such a methodology and the extent to which internal validity is respected are now discussed.

The accurate reconstruction of past events through interviews can be diminished by impaired recall and biased perceptions of actors and observers. Triangulation, or the use of multiple data sources surrounding the same event, occurred many times in this study, thus providing a higher degree of validity. The use of many primary sources, and cross-checking with other primary and secondary sources, also contributed to the accuracy of the presentation and interpretation of the data.

Since case studies illuminate the human dynamics of the policy process, feelings, attitudes and motivation are an extremely important data source. Written documents rarely treat such personal attributes in any meaningful way. This area requires face-to-face discussion and trust in the interviewer. Much verbal data was gathered from many primary and secondary sources to establish *why* actors behaved as they did. To avoid misinterpretation by the researcher, summary transcripts of each focused interview and of salient points arising out of some discussions were sent to the interviewees for verification.

The researcher must guard against investigator bias when interpreting the rich contextual detail of the case study. The writer was an "outsider" as SCG member within the IB Council of Foundation and as headmaster of an IB school because he was an Australian national in another cultural setting - "insider" in this study refers to someone familiar with the national or local scene. In another sense the writer became part of the IBO and its philosophy and therefore had "insider" knowledge and insight which was both valuable and potentially biased. A special effort was made to be a dispassionate, objective observer. On the other hand, being an "insider" facilitated a more frank exchange during interviews than would have been the case if people had been personally unknown to the researcher. Interviews were not recorded, precisely because this inhibits responses concerning the personal qualities of actors. Consensual agreement from multiple, independent data sources, a feature of this study, also reduces the incidence of investigator bias.

Because of the developmental nature of the policy process it can be difficult to pinpoint the policy decision - *when* it occurred, *who* decided *what* and *why*. In this research this was not so. Since the decision was taken by ISA it appeared in the minutes of that organisation with a precise date and wording. It was therefore easy to identify the formation and implementation phases. Where the timing and actors involved in the policy decision is ambiguous, it becomes difficult to clearly delineate the formation and implementation phases.

By definition a case study is not expected to have external validity. The findings show *which* actors were involved and *why* they acted as they did at each stage of the policy process; this could prove useful in *planning* or *describing* the adoption of the IB in a particular country or school. External validity is also enhanced by the "thick description" of the qualitative method in which environmental factors play an important role; a vicarious experience of the events is imparted (Guba & Lincoln 1983: 28). This case study provides an intuitive feeling for the nuances of the policy process which may facilitate judgments as to what extent hypotheses are transferable in a similar setting. Since in case studies reliability depends on internal and external validity, reliability is not discussed separately.

This research concerns the creation and development of the IB which was a once-only occurrence and related to a particular set of actors over a particular period of time. The detailed analysis does lead, however, to some findings concerning the policy process which are worth testing in other contexts and which are now discussed.

Theory Development

This section considers findings seen against the background of established theoretical constructs concerning the policy process and the conceptual framework of this study. It is divided into two sections: the temporal and structural nature of the policy process, and other theoretical considerations.

Temporal and Structural Properties of the Policy Process

The nature of the decision determines the degree of sequential disarrangement throughout the whole policy process. A non-prescriptive, "disembodied objective," creative policy decision, such as that to proceed with the IB, tends to be a once-only occurrence; there are no readjustments to the decision in the light of events pertaining to other stages of the policy process since the detail of program design and implementation is not specified. The more prescriptive the decision, the more it is likely to need readjustments resulting from the events of other policy process stages.

The decision makers and decision stage are the fulcrum around which the rest of the policy process is balanced: they are at once the natural division and link between the formation and implementation phases. Without decision makers there is no policy process; the decision *not* to make a decision is a valid policy decision. A policy process takes shape around a policy decision. The latter must be identified before the policy process can be determined; for example, aggregation and agenda setting take on significance only when the decision makers are identified.

The formation and implementation phases are more temporally sequential, with little interaction between them, when the policy decision is expressed as a "disembodied objective." This refers to the *phases* only, not to the order of stages within each phase. The one-off decision marks the culmination of the formation phase and the subsequent beginning of the implementation phase, providing a chronological break between the two. Where the decision is prescriptive in terms of implementation there is much more likelihood of it being altered as the events of policy process stages unfold because unforseenproblems may arise which alter implied or explicit implementation directives contained in a decision. Hence the formation and implementation phases are less temporally sequential where detailed decisions operate.

Evaluative feedback during the execution stage may change even the problem definition and intentions of the policy makers and so create interaction between the two phases. The same evaluative feedback in a creative, once-only, non-prescriptive decision situation will impact almost entirely on the implementation stages to readjust the design, administration and execution of the policy decision, since the latter gives a non-detailed, general direction only.

In this case study, the stages of the policy formation phase are chronologically cumulative: each stage commences later in time and then continues in parallel up to and including the policy decision. This produces a staggered, sequential, overlapping effect whereby the duration of each stage in order - problem definition, aggregation, agenda setting and policy decision - is progressively shorter. Interplay and chronological disarrangement occur between the stages in parallel: some agenda setting events, for example, occur before later events in the problem definition stage. The non-prescriptive nature of the policy decision may be responsible for this cumulative, rather linear effect.

By contrast the stages of the implementation phase are temporally coextensive and the events of any one stage are in sequential disarray with another stage. There is much interplay and backtracking to the design and administration stages as a result of the evaluative feedback of the execution stage. This phase is more in line with accepted theory

that the policy process is quite interactive and not linear.

Policy process events are not necessarily stage-specific. Events pertaining to more than one stage serve a linkage function between stages. In this study these linking events occur *within* but not *across* the formation and implementation phases. Links between formation and implementation stages are provided by actors, not by events, who are present in both phases. Since some actors change categories when they change functions, the link may be more *individually* related than category related. The influential factors also serve a linking function across stages and between the formation and implementation phases.

When the execution stage occurs as a repetitive event over a long period of time (such as the IB program), readjustment in the light of feedback becomes a permanent feature of the policy process and can impinge on any one or more prior stages and on the execution stage itself. In this study, all implementation stages had some alterations as a result of feedback. A need for innovative ideas, academic rigour and an international program perspective attracted many national government schools in North America to adopt the IB during the late 1970s and beyond. This eventually had repercussions on the administration stage by requiring an earlier IB examination time. Similarly the spread of the IB in the southern hemisphere led to the establishment of a November IB examination session.

Other Theoretical Considerations

Sub Policy Processes

Within any given policy process, sub policy processes may exist to determine and explain the existence of elements for any stage. In this case study, the very creation of aggregations was conceptualised in terms of actors operating throughout formation and implementation phases in response to influential factors. The policy process is, then, convoluted and has a number of potential sub policy processes or "boxes within boxes." This shows that policy analysis is a complex, rather intricate web of human interplay which can be elucidated by a conceptual framework such as that used in this study.

Multiple Impact of Influential Factors

Consonant with Systems Theory, the overlapping nature of influential factors indicates the complexity of forces bearing upon actors and their multiple (rather than single) impact. Some examples follow:

Event	Impacting Influential Factors
decolonisation & equality of opportunity	ideologies, politics, history
small national class groupings	economic, cultural, ideological
international curriculum perspective	educational, cultural
access to universities world-wide	demographic, educational
marketing of the IB	geographic, international diffusion

Influential Factors Other Than Environmental

In addition to the "traditional" environmental elements of Systems Theory - economic, educational, social (historical, geographical, cultural and demographic), political, technological, international diffusion - there exist other factors which influence action. Environmental factors are defined as those societal or institutional conditions external to the actor; they develop beyond the control of the individual and may be quantifiable by statistical analysis. International diffusion is a factor from Comparative Theory which has an important place in the environmental context of Systems Theory. These environmental factors interact dynamically to affect the actions of individuals engaged in the policy process.

Family welfare, ideologies and self-interest are not environmental factors but they influence an individual's behaviour. They are
. *concerns* in the minds of actors (which may or may not be shared by others or a whole population)
. formed by individual thoughts and perceptions
. personal not public.

It is clear that environmental elements alone do not account for the actions of many actors in the development or adoption of the IB. Many elite actors and teachers were driven by ideological concerns; parents were concerned about family welfare; students and university admissions officers took and accepted the IB partly out of self-interest.

Technical analysis is a *function* which brings a degree of objectivity to the policy process and is done by experts. It is part of the process of the rational model. In the field of education, program content, philosophy, methodology and examination techniques are important aspects of technical analysis.

Environmental context, then, needs to be extended and supplemented with other factors such as ideologies, family welfare and self-interest to explain policy process actions. The role of technical analysis is not to be ignored.

Properties of International Diffusion

International dispersion in an independent organisation like the IBO creates a degree of immunity from party politics and other possible

disturbances on a global scale. If a government decision of a particular country adversely affects the IB it will do so only in that country, one of seventy-three currently (1993) offering the program. Hence the total IB network is sheltered from any major political upheaval somewhere in the world because of the wide geographical spread of schools. This confines political or other effects to one small segment of the overall fabric because schools are *linked* (by their common subscription to the IB program) but are *not inter-dependent* in any political or administrative sense. Adverse effects therefore remain isolated in one small part of the IBO network without spreading to other countries. In addition, a number of IB schools are non-state schools and are therefore not obliged to respond to government decrees regarding curriculum and testing for example. (On the other hand, all schools in the IB network are quite educationally and administratively interdependent in all matters concerning the IB program itself.)

Party political and other effects are dampened, contained and isolated where the individual clients of an international organisation are politically and administratively independent of each other.

Ideologies

The ideological concerns of actors in this study have three important derivations:
. war service
. employer ideology (the UN and its agencies)
. religious commitment.

Horowitz (1989: 278) sees ideologies as fickle in developing countries but this was not so in relation to IB actors who stoically maintained their ideological path. When the derivation is deeply emotive and personal, the ideology is likely to be of life-long duration. This is even more applicable in developed countries where there is no compulsion to adhere to the changing political ideologies which tend to pervade unstable situations in the so-called "Third World."

Policy Adoption Impact

In keeping with the tenets of Systems Theory, policy adoption feeds back into the environment and alters some of its elements. This impact is usually intentional and positive. Factors such as historical context and technology remain untouched after the policy implementation phase (unless the policy had a direct bearing on technological improvements).

Where clients of an international service organisation (for example the schools vis-à-vis the IBO) decide to buy the services, an *unintentional* positive effect occurs on the factors of international diffusion and

geographical spread. The client has not chosen to participate to improve these factors. This is distinct from a situation where the international organisation purposefully opens branches (such as the IBO Regional Offices) in different locations around the world.

The Impact of Implementation on the Policy Decision

Lindblom (1980: 65) says that the implementation phase changes government policy due to
. incomplete specifications
. conflicting directions from multiple sources
. conflicting criteria for application
. limited competence
. inadequate resources.

The IBO did not have a sprawling, bureaucratic network where messages were passed on down in a hierarchical fashion. The non-specific nature of the IB policy decision left the details of implementation to others, hence the policy itself was never changed, because the intention had been that the program would be designed, administered, executed and reshaped during the implementation phase. Rather, this writer proposes that the more general the policy statement, the less likely it is to change during implementation particularly in a private enterprise.

The director-general of IBO, the deputy director-general (Renaud) and others were educational *practitioners* who went out into the field to take part in the implementation. The contact with policy recipients was directly from IBO in Geneva with curriculum designers visiting schools and organising teacher workshops. The number of people involved in the early days was small and they were bound together by common ideals, so there were no conflicting directions or criteria of application, and workshops and close contact with the Head Office in Geneva gave teachers the competence to deliver the program.

Where implementors are also actors involved in the formation phase, the intent of the policy has little chance of dissipation or major alteration. Again, since the IBO was uncluttered by a large number of employees and bureaucratic layers, direct access to clients prevented distortions of the policy intent. While finance for the project was not always as adequate as it might have been, there were always sufficient funds from foundations to move the project forward.

Organisational Structure and International Diffusion

Since bureaucratic layers can have a debilitating effect on policy, Horowitz (1989: 278) sees this effect magnified as policy is diffused across international bureaucracies where interpretations may be culturally

diverse, and monitoring of implementation is expensive and time-consuming. The IBO is not a government bureaucracy; the directors of the five Regional Offices report to the director-general, and all matters concerning programs and examinations take place directly between the school and the Examinations Office in the UK or the Head Office in Geneva. Compliance with IB regulations and standards is checked by regional directors, and during the annual examinations IBO personnel visit a number of schools throughout the world, unannounced, to inspect the procedures.

The simpler the organisational structure of the implementation unit and the more direct the contact between the unit and the clients, the less fragmented and dissipated is the policy effect when it is internationally diffused.

Interest Group Theory

Elite and interest group theories have relevance for the IB policy process. Some elements of the interest group model are more prevalent during the formation phase, while aspects of elite theory assume more importance during the implementation phase.

According to interest group theory, elites make minor adjustments to respond to a range of conflicting interests (Dye 1984: 37). Elite theory proposes that a small group of influential people close to the decision making process shape public opinion (Hofferbert 1974: 263).

During the formation phase a small group of key ISA decision makers responded to the wishes of an interest group - the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools - but there were no competing groups with a different agenda. Rather there was a chronological succession of like-minded aggregations - CIS (1949), Course for Teachers Interested in International Education (1950), ISA (1951), Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools (1962) - the last of which was organised by ISA, the decision makers. (The 1950 conference did not support an international school-leaving qualification on the grounds that individual cultures would lose their identity, but it did recommend an international curriculum perspective. This did not, however, constitute a conflicting interest group since there was a time lag of twelve years between it and the 1962 conference which influenced the ISA).

The weakness of the interest group model which both Harman (1980: 60) and Hofferbert (1974: 137) identify is borne out in this study: the emphasis on situations of conflict to produce policies does not allow for the role of consensus and integration which can unite groups. During the formation stage there were no opposing aggregations, and consensus, rather than conflict resolution, united the interest group of

teachers with the intra-elite coalition of the ISA. It follows that the policy decision was not incremental but adventurous, in response to the enthusiasm of the teacher interest group.

The interest group also comprised the future designers and deliverers of the program; these actors formed an important link between the aggregation/agenda setting/decision stages and the implementation phase. The social studies teachers, as the proponents of the policy and the first designers and deliverers of the IB, ensured unscrambled transmission of the policy intent during the design stage in particular. Two key actors, Cole-Baker (headmaster) and Leach (teacher), also linked policy formation to implementation, Cole-Baker being active during all policy process stages. This is in line with existing theory which sees interest groups as facilitating or hindering policy implementation depending on their internal characteristics. Where members of an international group participate in formation *and* implementation stages, the final execution of the policy will be more faithful to the original intent (as modified through evaluative feedback). The relative strategic position and politics of the government are other interest group features. The teachers at the social studies conference were in a good tactical position since their "politics" and that of ISA were congruent.

Good implementation will occur if there are few steps and actors between the decision stage and implementation phase. In government this is rare, given the size of state agencies, but for IB development the ISA decision was transmitted immediately to the board of the International School of Geneva (which included the ISA elite) and from there back to the teachers who had expressed the proposal to ISA. This was rapid (in the space of a few days) and there was consensus born of ideologies concerning world peace and a concern about access to universities across the globe. Similarly school level IB decisions in Australia were free from the complications of many hierarchical tiers through which messages must be relayed. In the early days the IB program was often executed in the schools by teachers who had assisted in designing the program. There was a gradual introduction of the IB because the policy was not compulsory, unlike most government decisions which must be applied to the whole population, thus requiring complicated administrative infrastructures. There was, therefore, no conflict of objectives nor people pursuing a different agenda during the implementation phase.

Elite Theory

It is during the implementation phase that aspects of elite theory assume some importance. The small group of elite ISA decision makers had hierarchical authority over the interest group (school board members and headmasters vis-à-vis the teachers in their employ) and

prestige as international actors of some renown. According to existing theory, the elite do *not implement*; they *formulate* policy and in so doing may choose to consider or ignore the practicalities of implementation. While the ISA elite (and others who were later won over to the cause) did not deal with the details of implementation - program design, administration and execution - they played a very active part in shaping international educational opinion at the highest political, diplomatic and government levels once the policy had been uttered. This may be a characteristic of international policy processes where international diffusion of a non-compulsory policy depends on positive reception by highly placed individuals in other countries.

Leverage

The leverage of individuals then assumes great importance. Bauer and Gergen's (1968: 197) procedure for recognising leverage was applied in this study: by reputation, formal position and social participation. This writer questions Hofferbert's (1974: 282) reservations about the validity of reputational studies in establishing leverage - that it identifies *perceived* as opposed to *actual* leadership. Influence occurs when individuals in reality follow a leader or respond to a suggestion because of the qualities they *perceive* in the leader as an individual or in his/her rhetoric. Whether these qualities actually exist is immaterial; the fact that they have motivated cooperative action on the part of individuals is sufficient.

The decision to succumb to leverage is itself based, then, on perception. The action which follows usually constitutes observable behaviour. It would seem that it is sufficient for a "knowledgeable" person to connect an individual's behaviour to the influence of an elite actor with whom he or she has had contact to establish leverage. This becomes more valid where the same elite actor is involved in many recurrences of perceived leverage with different individuals or organisations.

Design

Most of the literature on policy processes speaks of government policy; this study gives some insights into institutional policy which can differ considerably. In the latter the number of policy clients is much more manageable and the administrative layers much less cumbersome. There are, however, a number of similarities with established theory which sees implementation moving through design, administration and execution.

During the design stage "guidelines are developed to prescribe action from the legislative intent" (Rabinovitz *et al* 1976: 402). Teachers at the International School of Geneva, gradually joined by others, designed the first IB program and regulations which were then promulgated

during the administration stage, all with the aid of funding from foundations.

Administration

Anderson (1984: 79) sees effective administration of government policy depending on the following:
. sound direction
. laws, procedures, fair play
. other governments - local, state, national
. interest groups
. media

The advent of Peterson as full-time director-general of IBO in 1967 brought decisive direction to what had previously been a well-intentioned but leaderless group of idealists under the auspices of the ISA and the ISES whose executive officers were very part-time, voluntary parents and educators. There were no laws but a set of IB regulations was established which would protect equitably the students, the schools and the IBO. (A set of current regulations is included in Appendix 12). Rather than legislative procedures concerning municipal, state and national governments, the IBO had to contend with governments and ministries of education in other countries regarding IB adoption and recognition by universities where the education systems were highly centralised. Where schools and universities were independent of government direction, IB implementation depended on the individual regulations and philosophies of institutions.

Interest groups may facilitate or obstruct implementation. Local examination board authorities were sometimes wary of the IB, seeing it as a threat to the local school-leaving qualification either because it might replace it or because it might attract the best students, thus lowering the overall standard of results in the national examination. There were, however, other examining bodies who cooperated fully. Parents, students and teachers were supportive groups.

The media control the public perception of government by clever editing of comments, by particular emphases and by the amount and frequency of air-time or paper space given to events. As previously mentioned, the IB was given good press by elite actors with leverage who were so much in the public eye that they also attracted media attention. For example, Lord Mountbatten's appearance at the International School of Geneva to deliver the first ever IB diplomas in 1971 was covered by the *Tribune de Genève*. The President of the Republic of Slovenia presented the first IB diplomas in Ljubljana on the 14th of October 1992; this event was covered by the local and international press in Europe (**Contact - The Journal of the IB Schools**

n3 October 1992 cover page). Articles on the IB and IB events have appeared in international newspapers and magazines such as the *Herald Tribune, Investment International, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, Times Educational Supplement, The International* and in many national and local newspapers throughout the world. Learned articles on the IB have appeared in numerous educational magazines (see the Bibliography).

The IB was marketed via the media and also in the best way possible - by word of mouth from elite actors with international influence in high places.

Compliance

Rabinovitz *et al* (1976: 401) see implementation of government policy as enforcement of a legal requirement which is politically feasible between contending stake-holders. Compliance with government policy depends on the legitimacy of law and the consequent fear of punishment, on client self-interest, and on time and usage (Anderson 1984: 102-3). Since we are dealing with private institutional policy, there is no requirement to subscribe to the IB, but participants are expected to abide by the regulations and are sanctioned if they do not - by cancelling their right to offer the IB program. There were no contending stake-holders in IB development. Compliance by students is voluntarily. The IB is in the self-interest of students who want international university access and a curriculum with an international perspective. Time and usage have given an institutional character to the IB and have given it international credibility as the universities (including the most recognised in the world) accept IB students.

The reputation of the formulators and implementors had important implications. Administrators and teachers in schools and universities were impressed with the academic credentials of Peterson and with the standing of the highly placed people in royalty, government and diplomacy who supported the IB.

The Conceptual Framework of this Study

The framework was chosen to allow for the tripartite, political nature of the policy process without excluding rational elements: *who* did *what* and *why*? Because policy formation and implementation cannot be explained by a scientific model alone, the actors and the reasons for their action assume equal importance here with the stages of the policy process - the latter have, moreover, been formulated so as to accommodate both political and rational developments.

With minor adjustments the model could be applied to international policy making and implementation in areas other than education.

The policy process analysis of this study is *descriptive* in orientation; it gives clues as to how policy was made and implemented. The exact circumstances of IB development cannot be replicated, but the framework is useful for planning other forms of international cooperation in education and in other spheres; that is, the study has some prescriptive potential which may assist future planning of IB development or other cross-national policy endeavours (see the section in this chapter on "Methodological Considerations").

Studies concerning international policy processes in education are relatively rare. This study claims a modest contribution to this largely untilled field.

This case-study analysis should assist educational administrators, both at government level and at school level, to understand the complexity of the policy process. This should enable them to engage productively in shaping policies and in mediating at the levels of school and government and between schools and government. The educational administrator will appreciate more the environmental and other factors which have the potential to influence the behaviour of the major stake-holders in education: students, parents, teachers, administrators, politicians - all of whom are actors in this study.

Future Research Questions

There is much tilling to be done in the fields of international education and international policy analysis. This study suggests that the following research would be of interest.

The effect of the IB experience on subsequent academic and career choices.

What has been the nature of the IB experience for students? How have they performed at university and in the professions compared with non-IB students? Since the Oxford Research Unit ceased in 1974, Phil Thomas of the International School of Geneva has followed up IB diploma holders but there has not been a longitudinal, serious study in this domain.

To what extent is the IB successful in producing effective global citizens of the future?

Is it a truly international experience? How does the content, teaching methodology and school setting contribute to an international curriculum? What do we mean by "internationalism?"

Will the IB still have a place in the new European Community?

The original task of the IB, to achieve equivalence for university entrance, may be overtaken by inter-governmental agreements. The new catch-word in the EC is *reciprocity*, the recognition of differences, the mutual acceptance that diversity is valuable in itself because it is enriching. The IB has never sought to suppress cultural differences, quite the contrary: it purports to give an international perspective which has meaning only when compared to national perspectives.

To what extent are teachers attracted to international schools through their religious beliefs?

Given the objectives of world citizenship and intercultural understanding of international schools to what extent are Quakers, for example, found in these schools and does their belief assist the maintenance of school objectives?

What constituencies are involved in international education and international schools?

How does the curriculum and total school program differ between an international and national school?

Are there signs of international education being available in national schools - state and non-state?

How do international policy processes operate in areas of agriculture, science and social service projects across a number of countries in organisations attached to the UN?

What part do ideologies play in determining actor behaviour in the policy process? Is there a correlation between the derivation of ideologies and their duration and intensity? Are ideologies in developing countries more fickle than in developed countries? Why?

To what extent does self-interest influence an individual's behaviour? How can this be most accurately measured?

How easy or difficult was access to universities by the first IB diploma holders from schools in a particular country? Did these students demonstrate any qualities different from non-IB students? Which universities in the world present obstacles to IB diploma holders and why?

What are the characteristics of policy formation and implementation which have led to the acceptance and establishment of the IB program by education authorities or individual schools in particular countries? Are there differences in IB adoption in different cultural

settings? What are the elements that account for these differences?

What combination of factors have led to the IB being considered, then not adopted, by government authorities or individual schools in particular countries?

Conclusion

This study has shown which categories of actors became involved in IB development and adoption, and the factors that influenced them. To this writer's knowledge, it is the most detailed and rigorous historical account of the origins and evolution of the IB and the IB Office, and the only such study which uses a conceptual framework drawn from the field of policy formation and implementation. While case studies are not easily transferable to other situations, it is likely that these findings provide important clues concerning IB adoption which could be useful in future promulgation of the IB and in devising implementation strategies at a school or system level.

Policy processes form an important part of the discipline known as educational administration. Policies are being formed and implemented on a daily basis in schools and education systems throughout the world. At the national level, this thesis throws some light on the subtleties of the policy process. Educational policy analysis on an international scale is much rarer. This research has sought to explain an international policy process in education with the assistance of a three dimensional conceptual framework which might be used for other such processes in education or in other fields by adjusting the elements to be found on the axes. In such qualitative case studies "knowledge depends on the development of a refined judgment" rather than on the incontrovertible demonstration of the scientific approach (Husen & Postlethwaite 1985: 3960).

It is hoped that the framework of this study, which is original to the best of this writer's knowledge, will provide a way for future policy analysis on an international or national scale, and within or without the field of educational administration.

The study is not without weaknesses. *Gradations* of influence by the factors on the AD axis are not shown in the cubic spaces of the conceptual framework although such nuances are addressed to some extent in the discussion. Where a factor is considered by the researcher to have significant influence it is included, but its influence relative to other factors is more difficult to determine in most instances. Moreover the factors often overlap thus reducing the ability to pinpoint accurately the impact of single influences.

Similarly the degree of involvement of actors is not illustrated in the

conceptual framework. While all significant actors that the researcher knows of are included, the relative contribution of each in terms of time and energy is not always easy to determine although this does not detract too much from the overall analysis of actors' behaviour.

It would have been valuable to have interviewed the very first students in the 1960s and early 1970s who took the IB during the experimental period. While the names are obtainable from IBO examination results, finding their present whereabouts in the world would be less simple but not impossible in some cases. This avenue was not pursued.

The study could have been enhanced by including some schools and governments which considered offering the IB and then rejected the idea. This might have given a more balanced view of the IB by schools in general and other insights into the policy processes which led to a decision not to proceed.

Does the conceptual framework preclude an angle of vision which would have been more revealing? Does it discourage an alternative, equally valid perspective in policy-oriented research? There is always a danger of remaining within the same mental framework which saw the "problem," of arriving at only those findings which leave prejudices undisturbed, which legitimate the current mind-set and which avoid other challenging interpretations. The premise on which the conceptual model is predicated guides the discussion but also constrains the analysis to its parameters. In building the model, a process of abstraction, selection and simplification occurred to identify the sets of related assumptions which had a bearing on the policy process. This is not a weakness of this study as such because the research purports to offer a particular approach to policy-oriented research; it is, however, but one more perspective amongst many possible ways of interpreting the policy process and must be seen as such. Other assumptions may be equally valid and lead to other models and other interpretations.

Candidates for the Diploma wishing to offer subjects in excess of the six required as defined in Article 2 may register as Certificate candidates for the extra subjects.

Candidates who have been awarded the Diploma and who resit one or more subjects to improve their grade(s) will be classified as Resit candidates and will receive a Certificate indicating the result(s) obtained at the resit session.

Candidates who do not seek the award of the Diploma may enter for one or several subjects, provided that the number of hours of study for each subject recommended in Article 2 has been completed. Such candidates will be classified as Certificate candidates and will receive a Certificate indicating the result(s) obtained.

Article 13

Results obtained by a Certificate candidate cannot subsequently contribute to the award of a Diploma for that candidate.